





# SHAKSPEERE

# ALLUSION-BOOKS.

PART I.

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## GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

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A SECTION of our Reprints appears under the title of *Allusion-Books*. By this term we intend to cover not only those books which afford some *allusion*, or indirect reference, to Shakspeare or to a work of his, but also those which directly deal with either : i. e. which mention him by name as the author of such and such a poem or play, or as a poet worthy of praise or of blame. This distinction is important, and it is but right, once for all, to insist upon it. Let us take an extreme instance of each term. In the *Inferno* of Dante (Cant. III.) occur these lines :

e vidi l'ombra di colui  
Che fece per viltate il grand rifiuto,

as to which it is still a debateable question, who is specially signalized under the description of the man "who made, through baseness, the great refusal": in fact, three different interpretations have found supporters. If, as has been suggested, the reference be to Celestine the Fifth, this is an extreme instance of an *allusion proper*. De Quincey, in his admirable essay on *Style* (Works, Black's ed., vol. x. p. 254), has a note on the *Cassandra* of Lycophron, in which he speaks of the "symbolic images, which should naturally be intelligible enough to us who know the several histories" of the Trojan heroes, "but which (from the particular selection of accidents or circumstances used for the designation of persons) read like riddles without the aid of a commentator." De Quincey strictly calls these, *allusions* to the persons in question; "as if," he remarks, "I should describe Cromwell by the expression, '*unfortunate tamer of horses*,' &c. &c., or a noble lord of the last century as '*the roaster of men*.'" (Essay on *Jean Paul Richter* : Works, vol. xiii. p. 124.) Carlyle's works, again, are like Jean Paul's in this respect: full of *allusions*, often of the most obscure kind, to persons and events. To this day many of the *allusions* in the works of our old poets are uncertain. Assuredly "he who left untold," &c., in *Il Penseroso*, is Chaucer; but whether the next allusion be to Spenser only, or to Bojardo as well, remains an open question.

But, on the other hand, when a writer is named, or mentioned in terms which *directly* identify him, it is not strictly correct to call such a reference, an *allusion*, since there is no by-play, or side-glance at an incident or event which may serve as the middle term of identification. Thus when Henry Willobie's anonymous eulogist writes

And *Shake-speare* paints poor *Lucrece* rape,

one can hardly say that the *Rape of Lucrece* or its author are *alluded* to: they are *directly noticed*. But notwithstanding, it is a fact that a vast number of such notices involve an indirect reference to the writer or the writing; and we may surely be allowed, for the sake of convenience, to employ a title, to cover all our Reprints in this Section, which faithfully describes the greater part of them, and is applicable, with some little license, to nearly all.

The first instalment of our *Allusion-Books* consists of the following:—

I. Green's *Groats-worth of Wit*; bought with a million of Repentance. We know of no copy of the first edition, nor, in fact, of any edition earlier than that of 1596. We have therefore reprinted Mr Henry Huth's copy of that edition. The British Museum Library has a copy of the edition of 1617. The Bodleian Library, Oxford, has copies of the editions published in 1621 and 1629: the former of which, by a very common error of the press, reads "Tygres head," instead of "Tygers (or Tygres) heart," in the passage containing the famous allusion to Shakespeare and his Third Part of Henry VI.

The title of this work is not *The Groats-worth of Wit, &c.*; but *Green's Groats-worth of Wit, &c.*, and herein lies matter for speculation. It was a practice with the writers of that time to combine some name, *not always* that of the author, with the title: e. g. *The Countess of Pembroke's Passion, Willobie his Avis*, &c. In the case of Robert Greene's remarkable tract, as in that of *Avisa*, there was a special motive for the prominence accorded to the author's name in the title. It was one of Greene's posthumous works, and was revised and curtailed by his literary executor Henry Chettle, before it saw the light. At that day Greene's name had an extraordinary prestige, owing to the quantity and popularity of his literary productions, both in prose and in verse, dramatic and lyric. Accordingly Chettle puts Greene's name first, not only to bespeak the interest, and provoke the curiosity, of the public, but also to remind the reader of Greene's recent death and Chettle's editorship.

As Robert Greene died on Sept. 2 or 3, 1592, we may safely

refer the manuscript to the summer or autumn of that year: and as *Kind-Hart's Dreame* (which contains an allusion to *Green's Groats-worth of Wit*) was entered on the registers of the Stationers' Co. in Dec., 1592, it follows that Greene's book was printed and published between those two dates. That portion of this singular tract which entitles it to a place among our *Allusion-Books* is the address, (following on the main story, and immediately preceding Greene's farewell,) "To those gentlemen his quondam acquaintance, that spend their wits in making plays;" which deals with five play-makers (not counting Shakspeare), but is specially addressed to three of them. These three have been identified as (1) Christophor Marlowe, (3) George Peele, and (2) Thomas Nash. This address is eminently suggestive of the low estate of the players at that date, and the discredit which attached to the writers who supplied them with copy. Only ponder the scorn with which John Day, and John Davies of Hereford (the admirer, if not the actual friend, of Shakspeare and Burbage), say of the player's vocation. The former (if, as the late Mr Bolton Corney conjectured, he were the author of *The Returne from Pernassus*, 1606, acted in 1602) puts the following speech into the mouth of *Studioso* (Actus 5, scæna 1):

Fayre fell good *Orpheus*, that would rather be  
King of a mole hill, then a Keysars slave:  
Better it is mongst fiddlers to be chiefe,  
Then at [a] plaiers trencher beg reliefe.  
But ist not strange this [these] mimick apes should prize  
Unhappy Schollers at a hireling rate.  
Vile world, that lifts them up to hye degree,  
And treades us downe in groveling misery.  
*England* affordes those glorious vagabonds,  
That carried earst their fardels on their backes,  
Coursers to ride on through the gazing streetes,  
Sooing it in their glaring Satten sutes,  
And Pages to attend their maisterships:  
With mouthing words that better wits have framed,  
They purchase lands, and now Esquiers are made.

(the last couplet not improbably alluding to Shakspeare). To this *Philomusus* replies,

What are they seeme being even at the best,  
They are but sporting fortunes scornfull jests.

John Davies writes thus:

Good *God*! that ever *pride* should stoop so low,  
That is by nature so exceeding hie:  
Base *pride*, didst thou thy selfe, or others know,  
Wouldst thou in *harts* of Apish *Actors* lie,  
That for a Cus wil sel their *Qualitie*?  
Yet they through thy perswasion (being strong)

Doc weene they merit immortality,  
 Onely because (forsooth) they use their *Tongue*,  
 To speake as they are taught, or right or *wronge*.

If *pride* ascende the *stage* (ð base ascent)  
 Al men may see her, for nought comes thereon  
 But to be seene, and where *Vice* should be shent,  
 Yea, made most odious to ev'ry one,  
 In blazing her by demonstration  
 Then *pride* that is more than most vicious,  
 Should there endure open damnation,  
 And so shée doth, for shée's most odious  
 In *Men* most base, that are ambitious.

(*Microcosmos*, &c., 1603, pp. 214-5.) Even Lodge, who had indeed never trod the stage,<sup>1</sup> but had written several plays, and had no reason to be ashamed of his antecedents, speaks of the vocation of the play-maker as sharing the odium attaching to the actor:—

At last he left me, where at first he found me,  
 Willing me let the world and ladies knowe  
 Of Scilla's pride, and then by oath he bound me  
 To write no more of that whence shame doth grow :  
 Or tie my pen to pennie-knaues delight,  
 But live with fame, and so for fame to wright.

(*Scillae's Metamorphosis*: last stanza before *L'Envoy*.) At this day we can hardly realise the scorn which was thrown on all sides upon those who made acting a means of livelihood. Let their lives be as cleanly and their dealings as upright as they might

<sup>1</sup> In the Preface to Mr Collier's Reprint of the "Life and Death of William Longbeard, &c, by Thomas Lodge, 1593," (standing 7th in a volume of Reprints dated 1866) we have Mr Collier's latest deliverances on this matter. He says that "at one period, like many others, he [Lodge] coupled the profession of author and actor:" and subsequently says that Lodge "suffered so much from poverty, as to be driven from the university to the stage." The story is a pure fiction. It was started in

I. Dodsley's Select Collection of Old Plays, 1826, edited by Mr J. P. Collier, and repeated in

II. Gosson's School of Abuse, 1841, edited by Mr J. P. Collier.

III. Memoirs of Edward Alleyn, 1841, pp. 40—45, by Mr J. P. Collier.

IV. The Shakespeare Society's Papers, vol. iii. 1847, p. 145, Paper by Mr J. P. Reardon.

V. Lodge's Defence of Plays, and Alarum against Usurers, 1853, edited by Mr David Laing, with the aid of Mr J. P. Collier.

VI. Lodge's Life and Death of William Longbeard, [n.d.] edited by J. P. Collier. The true facts are set forth in

1. Was Thomas Lodge an actor? An Exposition touching the Social Status of the Playwright, in the time of Elizabeth, by C. M. Ingleby, LL.D., 1868.

2. Vol. ix. of Early English Text Society's Publications. Preface (on Vagabonds), 1869, pp. xxiv. xxv., by Edward Viles and F. J. Furnivall.

3. The *Academy* for Jan. 24, 1874. Letter from Mr F. J. Furnivall.

Mr Collier's last words on this and other falsifications with which he is charged, is to lay the fault if any on Messrs Amyot, Bruce, and others, who copied and collated for him, all of whom died years ago. See the *Athenaeum* for Feb. 21, 1874. To Dr G. H. Kingsley belongs the credit of having first detected this miserable falsification.

they were deemed to be *sans aveu*, runaways and vagrants: and even Shakspeare suffered so keenly from his *pariah* condition, that he exclaims,

My name be buried where my body is,  
And live no more to shame nor me nor you!  
For I am shamed by that which I bring forth,  
And so should you to love things nothing worth.

Things were come to a pretty pass when a reckless profligate like Robert Greene could afford to hurl scorn at Shakspeare: the dramatist, low as he was, to pelt the poor player, who had done his best at that time to be a play-wright "of threads and patches," before showing himself a dramatist of the highest genius and originality.

Apart from the identity of the second play-maker, which has been the subject of debate, there is happily no question as to the meaning of the address. It is the players whom he designates *burs*, *puppets*, *antics*, *crows* (deckt with peacock's feathers), *apes*, *rude grooms*, *buckram gentlemen*, *peasants*, and *painted monsters*. Now, hard measure as this is, insolent and insulting as such nicknames are and were, it is not too much to say that they were felt to be appropriat   to the class at which they were hurled. It was the trick of the time to speak of them in those terms. Davies, as we have seen, has *apish actors*, *men most base*, &c.; Heywood, *puppets*, *painted images*, &c.; Robert Burton, *butterflies*, *baboons*, *apes*, and *antics*; and so forth.

At a time when the players were pelted on all hands, like men in the pillory, it was a safe game for Robert Greene, a repentant playwright, to *fling muck-beds* (to use De Morgan's phrase: *Budget of Paradoxes*, p. 163) at an unrepentant player, who had inherited the low caste of his class, and added to it the unpardonable sin of writing plays on his own account, and worse (if possible) of altering for the better the plays of other men.

It seems to have been the trick, too, of that age, as prolific in the language of abuse as of poetry, to invent ridiculous or contemptuous nicknames, and fasten them upon eminent men of the quality. Two in particular possess interest for us: viz., *show-thing* (Shakspeare's nickname for Ben Jonson as a Comedian),<sup>1</sup> and *Shake-scene*, Greene's nickname for Shakspeare as a Tragedian. Note here that one practice, by which the Tragedian made himself ridiculous in the eyes of the educated, was over-doing the buskin-

<sup>1</sup> Readers who are curious on this point are referred to a recently published Shakespeare-Anthology, entitled *Shakespeare's Centurie of Prayse*, pp. 208 and 231. (Birmingh  m: printed by Josiah Allen for the Editor, Dr C. M. Ingleby.)

tread by which he *shook the stage*. (See Ben Jonson's Commendatory verses on Shakspeare prefixed to the folio 1623.) But it was just one of the things which struck with awe the vulgar—the "penny-knaves"—that the great man's tread vibrated the frail structure on which he marched. Hence, Greene happily nicknames the new tragedian, a *Shake-scene*; and that this was meant for a parody on *Shake-speare*, we cannot doubt, when we see that the words in italics, "with his *Tygers heart wrapt in a players hide*" (Reprint, p. 30), parodies one in an early work of Shakspeare's. In "*The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the death of good King Henrie the Sixt*," &c. 1595, in the fifth scene, the Duke says to the Queen,

She wolfe of Franco, but worse than Wolves of France:  
Whose tongue more poison'd then the Adders tooth:  
How ill bescoming is it in thy sexe,  
To triumph like an Amazonian trull  
Upon his woes, whom Fortune captivates! &c.  
Oh Tygers hart wrapt in a womans hide!  
How couldst thou draine the life blood of the child,  
To bid the father wipe his eyes withall,  
And yet be scene to beare a woman's face?

The whole speech is retained in *the third Part of Henry the Sixt*, but much worse printed in the folio 1623 than in the quarto of 1595. This is not the place to settle the vexed question of the authorship of *The True Tragedie*. Three views, however, may be mentioned: (1) that of Malone, that Shakspeare was not the author either of *the First Part of the Contention* or of *The True Tragedie*; but that he appropriated a large part of both plays, when he wrote his *Second and Third Parts of King Henry the Sixt*; (2) that of Mr J. O. Halliwell (Phillipps) that there were older plays, not by Shakspeare, on the subjects of these: and "that when these plays were printed in 1594 and 1595, they included the first additions which Shakspeare had made to the originals" (*Introduction to the First Sketches of the Second and Third Part of King Henry the Sixth*, 1843, p. xix); (3) that Shakspeare was the sole author of these plays in their earliest form. This last view we believe to be utterly untenable. We hold that Marlowe was author, or joint author with Greene, of the older plays, republished as *the First Part of the Contention*, and *The True Tragedie*. If so, a special point might be felt in Greene's parody of the line in question, that possibly being one of those which were written by Marlowe or Greene and formed part of the older plays: and we should then see in the phrase "an upstart crow beautified with our feathers," not merely a player using the work of another man for representation, but a playwright appropriating another man's work, and



incorporating it with his own. But the phrase, as we shall shortly see, admits of a less offensive interpretation.

It is note-worthy that the same line is imitated in *Acolastus his After-Witte* by S[amuel] N[icholson], 1600, where we have,

O woolvish heart, wrapt in a woman's hyde.

S. Nicholson made very free with Shakspeare's *Rape of Lucrece* in this poem, appropriating several entire lines, and imitating others. (See Collier's Biographical and Critical Account: vol. II. p. 47; and also vol. I. Additions, p. xxviii\*.) Dr B. Nicholson calls our attention to a similar instance of appropriation in Nicholas Breton's sacred poem, *The Countess of Pembroke's Passion*, in the early stanzas of which he has managed to introduce by two or three lines at a time the greater part of two of Watson's sonnets in his *Tears of Fancie*.

*Green's Groats-worth of Wit* on its first appearance was variously fathered, by some on Chettle, by others on Nash. The former in his *Kind-Harts Dreame* confesses to his having retrenched the more abusive parts of Greene's tract; but throws the whole credit (or discredit) of the performance on Greene. The latter (Nash) in his *Pierce Pennilesse*, 1593, indignantly repudiates the attribution of Greene's "scald, trivial, lying pamphlet" to himself. I have no doubt that the work was wholly written by Greene, with the reservation of certain parts retrenched or otherwise touched by Chettle; and that it was the genuine and hearty outcome of his repentance, written, moreover, with the kindest motive. It might be thought that the fact of the book being attributed to Nash is an argument against his being "young *Juvenall* [the sweet boy], that byting Satyryst, that lastly with mee [Greene] together writ a Comedie;" strengthened, as it appears to be, by the absence of any proof that Greene and Nash had ever done such a thing: but there is positive evidence of the fact that Nash's nick-name was "young Juvenal," that he was at this time a youth of 24 (in fact in his 25th year); and that the epithet "sweet" was lovingly applied to him by some who did not smart under his "byting satire," and perhaps even by one who did—viz. Gabriell Harvey. This we shall shew in its proper place in our *Introduction*. On the other hand, Lodge (who jointly with Greene wrote *A Looking-Glass for London and England*, acted in March 1591-2) was not known as a Satirist till the publication of his *Fig for Momus* in 1595, and was on a sea-voyage from August 26, 1591, till June 11, 1593: and moreover was a man of 34 when he left England. (See Mr Richard Simpson's

Letter in the *Academy* for April 11, 1874, which we have reprinted at the end of the First Part of this *Introduction*.)

We must own that the balance of testimony is in favour of the view first suggested by Dr Farmer, that Thomas Nash was the second of the play-makers addressed by Greene in this strange book, though in making this declaration we are recanting a long-cherished belief.

The student of Shakspeare will find some parallel passages in this tract. The most remarkable of these runs thus:

"For if *sic volo, sic jubeo* hold in those that are able to command: and it be lawfull *Fas et [aut] nefas* to doe any thing that is beneficiall; onely Tyrants should possesse the earth, and they striving to excede in tyranny, should each to other bee a slaughter man; till the mightiest outliving all, one stroke were left for Death, that in one age mans life should ende" (p. 29).

It would be too much to say that Shakspeare used this (as he did so many other passages in the works of other writers) as the warps of his poetry; but unquestionably its sense is perfectly reproduced in that fine speech of Ulysses, in *Troilus and Cressida*, I. 3, including the lines,

"Then everything includes itself in power,  
Power into will, will into appetite;  
And appetite, an universal wolf,  
So doubly seconded by will and power,  
Must make perforce an universal prey,  
And last eat up himself."

A few biographical details of Robert Greene may not be deemed superfluous. This remarkable man was born at Norwich about 1560: graduated A.B. at St John's College, Cambridge, in 1578; and A.M. at Clare Hall, Cambridge, in 1583. In 1588 he was incorporated at Oxford. He took orders, and became Vicar of Tollesbury in Essex, June 19, 1584. His earliest publication was *The Myrrour of Modestie*, 1584. He also became a student in physic: (*Planetomachia*, 1585.) He married about 1586, and died Sept. 2 or 3, 1592, in his 32nd or 33rd year. His last work, printed in his lifetime, was *A Quip for an upstart Courtier*, 1592, which provoked the bitter animosity of Gabriel Harvey. His career and untimely end recal those of Edgar Allan Poe. Both were men of great literary and poetic genius: both were married and childless; both fell victims to excess; and both were indebted to the hospitality of strangers for the last offices paid to a dying man.

II. *Kind-Harts Dreame*, by H[enry] C[hettle], is an early

specimen of the ever common device of making one book out of several disconnected fragments. It is full of interest for us in many ways: but chiefly for its preliminary address "To the Gentlemen Readers." It is here that a supposed allusion to Shakspeare occurs. "About three moneths since died *M. Robert Greene*;" this and the entry in the Stationers' Register fix the date of authorship as December 1592. But whether we possess the first edition is at least doubtful; and Mr J. O. Halliwell (*Life of Shakspeare*, 1848, p. 146, note) gives the preference to the Bodleian copy (formerly the property of Robert Burton) over others; all being without date. Chettle continues thus: "leaving many papers in sundry Booke Sellers hands, among other his Groatsworth of Wit, in which a letter written to divers play-makers is offensively by one or two of them taken," &c.; this doubtless means that Marlowe was galled, by the allusion to his Atheism; and perhaps another of the three had expressed annoyance at the personalities of Greene. Marlowe is the "one of them" with whom Chettle cared not to be acquainted, and "the first, whose learning" Chettle professed to reverence (p. 38, ll. 8 and 17). The chief question for us is, Who was "the other, whome at that time" Chettle did not so much spare as since he wished he had. The late Mr Howard Staunton, in a remarkable letter, dated Jan. 27, communicated to the *Athenæum* of Feb. 7, 1874, argues that "the other" referred to by Chettle could not be Shakspeare, because Greene's letter was, as Chettle says, "written to divers play-makers," and "by one or two of them" offensively taken: and because Shakspeare was not one of the persons addressed, but the chief of those against whom they were warned by Greene. Mr Staunton follows his predecessors in identifying the "famous gracer of tragedians" with Marlowe, and the last of the three, "no lesse deservng then the other two," with George Peele. The second, then, is "the other" of Chettle; and in Mr Staunton's opinion "young Juvenall" (the "sweet boy") is Thomas Nash; and therefore it is concluded that it is Nash to whom Chettle offers the sequent apology. This apology, however, is grounded on the personal testimony of Chettle and others to the *civil demeanour, excellence in his qualitie, uprightness of dealing* (which argues his *honesty*), as well as the *facetious grace in writing* of the person who had taken Greene's remarks offensively. Now, "young Juvenall" is not charged with any offence whatever, save the use of intemperate or libellous language. To publish a friendly warning, addressed to a public writer, counselling him not to make enemies by bitter words, might indeed be gall and wormwood

to an irritable, overbearing, and self-asserting man : but to apologise for it afterwards, as if his uprightness and honesty had been called in question, would be an absurdity not to be imputed to Chettle. The fact is, that none of the three addressed is assailed for want of any of the qualities which, according to Chettle, were conspicuous in "the other" who had taken Greene's remarks offensively.

But there is a person alluded to under the nick-name of a *Shake-scene*, on whom Greene plainly charges the want of those qualities ; but unfortunately Greene does not address his remarks to that person—but rather talks *at* him. In fact, Greene addresses, not the "upstart crow," but the three play-makers whom he warns against him. It is not very easy to say what was the *gravamen* of the charge against the "upstart crow." It has hitherto been supposed that he is charged with appropriating other men's writing : and this is Mr Staunton's view ; he holds that the passage in question imputes to the person assailed the offence of having remodelled the theatrical pieces of the persons addressed. But to this view Mr Richard Simpson demurs (*Academy*, April 4, 1874), and though he betrays a little too much eagerness in behalf of Shakspeare's originality, and puts his case too strongly, he is substantially right. "Greene, in calling Shakspeare an upstart crow 'beautified with our feathers,' probably did not mean to accuse Shakspeare of stealing, but simply to call him an actor who had gained applause by spouting the lines of Greene, Marlowe, and Peele." But certainly the expressions "bombast out a blank verse" meant *writing* it ; and the very gist of the nick-name *Johannes fac-totum* is that the person assailed was a Jack of all trades—one who not only put pieces on the boards, and acted in them himself, but essayed to write plays for his own house, and thus intruded on the author's privileged department. That the actual phrase "an upstart crow beautified with our feathers" might mean no more than a player is abundantly proved by the three following quotations which are advanced by Mr Simpson, viz. :

"Why art thou proud with Aesop's crow, being pranked with the glory of others' feathers ?" Greene's *Never too Late*, 1590.

Again, "Sundry other sweet gentlemen I do know [besides Greene and Peele] that have vaunted their pens in private devices, and tricked up a company of taffeta fools with their feathers, whose beauty, if our poets had not docketed [them] with the supply of their periwigs, they might have anticked it until this time up and down the country with the *King of Fairies*, and dined every day at the pease-porridge ordinary with *Delfragus*."—Nash's preface to Greene's *Menaphon*, 1589.

Again, "Notice, by the way," writes Mr Simpson, "that these are the two plays mentioned by the actor to Roberto in the *Groatsworth*. Just in this way, when the degree of LL.D. was offered to the young son of the Duke of Suffolk at Cambridge, in Edward VI's reign, he said, 'who was he to appear among the doctors, and to plume himself, like Aesop's crow, in alien feathers?'"

And lastly, Mr Simpson quotes these lines, which in our judgment scarcely support his view :

"Greene gave the ground, to all that went before him :<sup>1</sup>  
Nay more, the men that so eclipsed his fame  
Purloyned his plumes; can they deny the same?"

*Greene's Funeralls*, by R. B. Gent. 1594.

But the entire passage in *Green's Groatsworth of Wit* means a great deal more than Mr Simpson appears to find in it. It is difficult (as we have said) to realise at this day the excessive odium attaching to the theatrical profession, an odium shared by the playwrights who supplied them with dramatical pieces. But if we do this, we shall be able to understand somewhat of the indignation which the *regular staff* of playwrights must have felt when they found a common player aspiring to the dignity of a playwright, and thus threatening to bring the dramatist's vocation into tenfold discredit, and to defraud the regulars of their pay. Surely it was not in human nature for the ruined and dying Greene to hold his peace, when he found the great shadow of this New Reputation cast on the field occupied by himself, Marlowe, Peele, and some others: keeping these considerations in view, Greene's language will seem quite natural and unstrained, without resorting to the hypothesis that Shakspeare's conduct was, in his view, more than *constructively dishonest*. In fact, believing that the *Shake-scene* was Shakspeare, we can very well see that his noiseless yet strident aggrandisement as a tragic and comic writer, an advent of dramatic genius for which there appeared no adequate preparation, must have provoked both to jealousy and to admiration the men whose functions were thus superseded: and that they would see in the advantage so taken of them some evidence of dishonesty. On this view alone there was reason for Chettle's apology, when he found that Shakspeare was not only a man of exquisite grace in writing, but of gentle and honest life. But further, we may suppose that Chettle saw that Greene's insolence bore a construction prejudicial to Shakspeare's

<sup>1</sup> "Went before him;" i. e. were preferred before him, and so far eclipsed him. Surely these lines bring a direct charge of dishonesty against Greene's later competitors in play-writing.

honesty; and if so, there was an additional reason for the apology.

The difficulty however remains, that Chettle distinctly says that he is apologising for one of the three to whom Greene wrote his epistle; and most assuredly the "upstart crow" is not addressed at all. The only explanation which occurs to me, is that we have Greene's remarks in an imperfect form. Chettle owns to having retrenched some of the more abusive passages in Greene's manuscript; and it is no very violent assumption that he cut out some highly offensive passage in which Greene apostrophised the *Shake-scene*; and that when Chettle wrote the apology prefixed to *Kind-Harts Dreame* he remembered the apostrophe, but forgot the omission. This view is countenanced by some remarks in Gabriel Harvey's *Third Letter*, to which we shall shortly have to call attention. We must add, that Mr Staunton's letter was replied to with great ability by Mr Richard Simpson in the letter which we have reprinted.

In Chettle's tract the five "invectives against abuses reigning" may be thus summarised:

1. Against the liberty of ballad-printing; by Anthony Now-now.

2. Against quack-salving; by Dr Bureot.

3. Robert Greene to Pierce Pennilesse (i. e. Thos. Nash).

4. A plea for public amusements; by Richard Tarleton.

5. Against juggling; by William Cuckoe.

A word on some of these "Apparitions." *Anthony Now now* is the nickname of an itinerant fiddler. Dr H. F. Kimbault (Percy Soc. Tracts, vol. v. p. 63) quotes an old ballad from *the Second Part of the Gentlecraft*, by Thomas Deloney, 1598, of which the refrain is

O Anthony, now, now, now;

where it is said, "Anthony in his absence sung this song so often in S. Martins, that thereby he purchast a name which hee never lost till his dying day, for ever after men cald him nothing but *Anthony Now now*." This Anthony has been supposed to be Anthony Munday, but without a vestige of reason.<sup>1</sup> The like

<sup>1</sup> On this point Dr B. Nicholson writes to us, as follows:—

"Some time ago I read this part of K. II. Dreame very carefully, and with the view of examining this supposition. I could not find one word in support, rather many showed me that A. Now now was a known but yet merely an itinerant street-fiddler, with nothing to connect him with Meres' 'best plotter.' So in Munday's history I know nothing which would connect him with a street-fiddler origin. He was an author in 1579, in Rome before 1582, a translator probably from the Italian 1584 (see Coll. Ann. of 81, III. 241); would he then in 1592 be spoken of merely in the terms used in K. H. Dreame? It is hazardous reasoning from negatives, but Jonson in his depreciation of him says nothing of street-fiddling. The origin of the supposition appears to have arisen as in the Museum copy of K. II. D., where the

refrain occurs in a ballad at the end of *Le Prince d'Amour*, 1660. Of *Dr Burcot* nothing is known. *Richard Tarleton* was the most famous extravagant Comedian of Elizabeth's reign. The earliest mention of him is as the author of a ballad in *The Floods of Bedfordshire*. He died Sept. 1588 (Rimbault, *ibid.* p. 63). References to him and his famous "jigge" are frequent in the old literature. Dr Rimbault compares Chettle's description of Tarleton with that given in *Tarlton's Newes out of Purgatorie*. *William Cuckoe* was doubtless an itinerant juggler; but his name, or nickname, has not been found in any other work.

*Kind-Hart* was the conventional name of an itinerant tooth-drawer, and it occurs frequently in the literature of this period. *Plaine Percevall*, 1589, says "if [thou wilt have thy Colts tooth drawne] gently, let me be thy tooth-drawer, I have a kind hart of mine owne, and that name hath been good at such a practise heretofore." Dr Rimbault quotes five couplets from *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head Vaine*, 1600, in which is the line

"Not as Kind-heart, in drawing out a tooth."

III. *Englandes Mourning Garment*, by Henry Chettle, though out of chronological order, is next reprinted. Its title-page has neither name nor date; but the allusions to the death of Elizabeth as a recent event prove that it was printed in 1603, and the address "To the Reader," immediately before the colophon, signed "Hen. Chettle," claims the principal work as his, through the accident of correcting *Hewres* (or as he quotes it *Herores*) which the printer had set up for *Heroes*, on p. 98.

The part which immediately concerns us is the second verse-fragment, extending from p. 97 to p. 99. Of course "the Arcadian Shepherds inchaunting phrase of speaking," at foot of p. 96, alludes to Sir Philip Sidney, and "the excellent and cunning *Collin*" on p. 97, is Edmund Spenser, from whom Chettle appears to quote the couplet, which serves for motto of the sequent prolusion; though we have not found it in Spenser's works.

In the prolusion itself there are eleven allusions,

He that so well could sing the fatal strife  
Betweene the royall Roses White and Red,

is Samuel Daniel, of whose *Civile Wares betweene the Houses of Lancaster and Yorke*, four books were published in 1595, the fifth

similarity of the Christian name (a very common one at that time) has led some one to scribble Munday on the margin. See also W. Webbe's notice of Munday in his *Disc.* on Engl. P. 1586 (p. 35 of Arbr. reprint)."

in 1599, and the sixth in 1602, the remaining two not appearing till 1609.

He that sung fortie yeares her life and birth,  
And is by English Albions so much faunde,

is William Warner, whose *Albion's England* was published in 1586.

*Coryn* full of worth and wit,  
That finisht dead *Musæus* gracious song,

is, of course, the illustrious George Chapman, the continuator and ender of that noble work which Marlowe (who had been "dead" ten years in 1603) left unfinished; viz., the *Hero and Leander* of Musæus.

On the next page

our English *Horace*, whose Steele pen  
Can drawe Characters which will never die,

is doubtless the *Horace Junior* of Dekker, i. e. Ben Jonson. The next allusion we will consider at greater length hereafter. "Sweete singer *Coridon*" is Michael Drayton, identified by the reference to his *Isabel* and his *Poly-olbion*, here called by a press-error, *Poly Albion*. "Delicious sportive *Musidore*" is probably Thomas Lodge, who had renounced poetry for medicine; whence the allusion,

Although thou have resigned thy wreath of Bay.

But as Chettle does not elsewhere allude to Thomas Greene, *Musidore* may be he; the probability however is the other way: and other poets as prominent as that Greene are also ignored, as Wm. Browne, George Wither, John Reynolds, &c. "*Quicke Anti-horace*" is, of course, Thomas Dekker, and "*yong Melibee*" must be John Marston; and lastly, "*Heroes last Musæus*" should be Henry Petowe, who published in 1598 *The Second Part of the Loves of Hero and Leander*, which was, like Chapman's, a continuation of Marlowe's poem.

In this prolusion Chettle complains that none of these poets had celebrated in verse the memory of Queen Elizabeth, then lately dead: and amongst them he thus speaks of another poet in these terms:

Nor doth the silver tonged *Melicert*,  
Drop from his honied muse one sable teare  
To mourne her death that graced his desert,  
And to his laies opend her Royall eare,  
Shepherd, remember our *Elizabeth*,  
And sing her Rape, done by that *Tarquin*, death.

The concluding couplet shows pretty plainly that by *Melicert*,



Chettle meant Shakspeare. It is quite certain that he intended no allusion to the ancient story of Melicerta (or Melicertus); but the second line renders it likely that he had an eye to the possible etymology of the word, μέλι, honey, and κηρός, bees-wax, or κηρίον, comb; so that Melicert would be Honeycomb, or the "honied muse," from which his verse distilled. We must here bear in mind that in a poem (1598) attributed to Barnefield, Shakspeare's Muse is spoken of as his "honey-flowing Vaine;" and that Weever in his 22nd Epigram (1595) and Meres (1598) call our Bard "Honey-tongued *Shakespeare*." (See postea, pp. 159, 180, 184.) Whence one might almost conclude that it was proverbial to associate "honey" with Shakspeare's early writings. Melicertus, however, is named by Chettle on p. 87 of *Englandes Mourning Garment*, and by Robert Greene in his *Menaphon*; and naturally the question has been raised whether in these three allusions we have three or two, or only one real person. In entering upon this question, it is necessary to be on our guard against supposing that there was anything like an appropriation of a pastoral or other nickname, at least beyond the lifetime of the bearer. Thus Chettle dubs himself Colin, mainly *because* Spenser had been called so (see *E. M. Garment*, p. 97); and many poets were called Melibœus: and so forth. Chettle thus associates three poets of mark (p. 87):

"O, saith *Thenot*, in some of those wrongs resolve us, and thinke it no unfitting thing, for thou that hast heard the songs of that warlike Poet *Philesides*, good *Melabee*, and smooth-tongued *Melicert*, tell us what thou hast observed in their sawes, seene in thy owne experience, and heard of undoubted truths touching those accidentis: for that they adde, I doubt not, to the glory of our *Eliza*."

The plot thickens. We have now to discriminate all three names, Philesides and Melibee, as well as Melicert, and to identify them if we can. Assuredly no change can be got out of the assumption that the same poet is, as a matter of course, alluded to under the same name. Mr Richard Simpson, in his *Introduction to A Larum for London or the seige of Antwerp* (Longmans, 1872) pp. 2 and 3, appears to do this. Speaking of the passage we have just quoted, he writes—

"Probably the reason why this reference to Shakspeare under the name of Melicert, has not obtained the attention it deserves is the fact that none of these topics [the relations of the English to the Spanish] are discussed in any of his recognised works. It is remarkable how silent they all are on Spanish matters, which during a great part of his life were the occasion of anxiety and even panic to the whole country. The other two poets who, in common with Shakspeare, touched upon Spanish perfidy to England, were 'the warlike poet Philesides, and good Melibee.'

The first is not again mentioned by Chettle, and cannot therefore be identified from his pamphlet. Many of the Elizabethan poets were also soldiers; Gascoigne, Churchyard, Raleigh, Sidney, Barnaby Rich, Barnaby George, Gervase Markham, and others. Any of these may be Philsides. The good Melibee, on the other hand, is subsequently addressed as the 'young Melibee,' the friend of Antihorace or Decker. This goes far to identify him with Marston; and this conclusion is much strengthened when we find Chettle's friend Drayton, two years later, addressing Marston as 'good Melibee' who

Down from the goodly Western waste,  
To drink at Avon, drivest thy sunned sheep.

Marston was married to a daughter of the rector of Banford St Martin, in Wiltshire, and had apparently settled with his wife at Christchurch in Hampshire."

This is Mr R. Simpson's case; and we must candidly own that we think it is a very weak one. For ourselves, we have not the least doubt that Philsides, or Philisides, is Sir Philip Sidney; for it was under this name that Sidney figured himself in his *Arcadia*; and when Chettle wrote we may be quite sure that all readers saw in Philsides no other poet than Sidney. Again in the *Pastoral Eclogue upon the Death of Sidney*, printed with *Colin Cloute's Come home again*, 1595, Sidney is addressed as *Philisides*. The truth is, the name is simply a compound of Phil[ip] Sid[ney] with a connecting vowel and a Greek termination. Mr C. Elliot Browne (*Notes and Queries*, 4th S. xii. 510) corroborates these arguments by quoting from the Earl of Stirling's *Supplement of the Defect*, 1621, a note in which the Earl apologizes for several divergences from the plan of the *Arcadia*,

"specially in the death of Philisides making choice of a course whereby I might best manifest what affection I beare to the memorie of him whom I tooke to be alluded unto by that name, and whom I only by this imperfect parcell (denying more) had a mind to honour,"

clearly referring to the fall of Sidney on the field of Zutphen. Further, as Mr C. E. Browne points out, the Earl thus describes his hero: "Philisides [was] a Muron of courage and courtesie, of learning and armes;—so that it seemed that Mars had begotten him upon one of the Muses."

The identification of Chettle's *Philsides* with Sidney is the cardinal point in the interpretation of the prose passage; and therefore we make no apology for reprinting the following remarks on that point from an admirable paper by Dr Brinsley Nicholson (*Notes and Queries*, 5th S. i. 109). We agree with him that we may positively assert Philsides, as well as Philisides, to be Sir Philip Sidney; and that we must not allow this identification to be disputed, whatever may be its consequences.

First, Alexander, in his addition to the third book of the *Arcadia*, makes Philisides die of a wound in the thigh from an empoisoned dart thrown by an unknown hand, and Sidney died of a chance bullet wound in the thigh, which, ending in in-

ward mortification, seemed to confirm the belief that shot wounds were poisoned wounds. [*Secondly*,] Philisides' calm death and quiet address to his friends is an imitation of Sidney's, and the desire to live in their friends' memories is common to both deathbed speeches. [*Thirdly*,] The history of the "tilting in Iberia (where I was borne) dedicated to the memorie of the Queen Andromanes marriage,"—when a novice in armes he, with Musidorus, Pyrocles, and others in their train, ran in a pastoral show against the Corinthian knights,—is a plain reference to the magnificent tournament and show before the French embassy that came over to negotiate the marriage with the Duke of Anjou in 1581, and in which Sidney, Fulke Greville, the Earl of Arundel, and the Lord Windsor were the challengers and knights of Desire that attacked the Fortresse of Perfect Beautie. In the chronicles (see Nichols' *Progr.*), the feats of arms in this tournament are described in much the same glowing terms as those used by Alexander's Philisides. *Fourthly*, Sidney writing, Philisides speaks autobiographically of himself in

"The song I sang old Lanquet [*i. e.* Languet] had me taught" (Arc., B. III.), and thus identifies himself with Sidney. *Fifthly*, the second book of Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals* is dedicated to William, Earl of Pembroke (1616); and in one of the commendatory verses, probably by Wm. Herbert, we have,

"Hce masters no low soul who hopes to please  
The Nephew of the brave Philisides."

As to the name of *Melibee*, Mr C. E. Browne, in the note from which we have already quoted, suggests "that Melibee and Melicert were dead Statesmen, not living poets; that, in fact, the allusions in the political portion of the work [of Chettle] are entirely independent of those in the poetical part, and refer, perhaps, to Walsingham and Burghley, who, with Sidney, were associated together in the popular mind, as the three great leaders of the Anti-Spanish policy." Mr Browne specifies these reasons for this view:

1. The nature of Collin's narrative, which reads more like a *pièce justificative* or State paper than anything likely to be derived from a drama or poem. The context also clearly shows that the writer is referring to a past state of the Spanish question, and to a period when Shakspeare and Marston were little more than children.

2. The use of the word "sawes," which although certainly not excluding the idea of poetry, has primarily, I think, a graver meaning. Shakspeare has "holy sawes of sacred writ" (*Hen. IV.*, part ii., i. 3), and Marston, in *What you will*, speaks of

"—— the musty sawe  
Of antick Donate."

3. The great improbability that any work which at this time (1603) was well known to have been written by Shakspeare would be allowed to perish.

4. The curious infelicity of the word "good," if applied to such a professor of strong language as Marston, and the unlikelihood that he would be coupled with Sidney.

5. Thomas Watson had celebrated Walsingham under the name of Melibæus in his *Eclogue* of 1590. Statesmen and politicians, as well as poets, were spoken of pastorally as shepherds. Lodge has introduced Burghley in his eclogues as Egdon, and there is the well-known epitaph on Robin ascribed to Raleigh.

As to the origin and employment of the name *Melicert*, Mr Browne writes:—

It is scarcely likely that Chettle intended to allude to the son of Ino, who was no shepherd, but it is probable, I think, that he referred to the *Melicertus* of Greene's *Menaphon*, one of the principal characters in the most popular fiction of Shakspeare's old antagonist, and whether Chettle originated or only applied the compliment, it shows, at any rate, the continuance of the good understanding which had been commenced by the *amende* made to Shakspeare ten years before in *Kind Heart's Dream*. Greene's Melicertus had been a shepherd "elsewhere" before he came to Arcadia, and though himself born to "base fortunes," yet knowing that "Venus loved Adonis, and Luna Endymion, that Cupid had bolts feathered with the plumes of a crow as well as with the pen of an eagle," he devoted himself to a mistress of much higher rank than himself. She dies, or appears to die, very suddenly, and the wretched Melicertus, after the manner of the pastoral romances, retires into Arcadia to keep sheep, where he meets with the beautiful shepherdess, Samela, who in the end turns out to be his former mistress, still alive. Melicertus contends with Menaphon for the mastery of the shepherds. "Am I not the king's shepherd," says Menaphon, "and chief of all the bordering swains of Arcadia?" "I grant," quoth Melicertus, "but am not I a gentleman, though tired in a shepherd's skin-coat, superior to thee in birth, though equal now in profession?" Their rival pretensions are decided by a kind of poetical tournament, and Melicertus is declared the winner. The character was evidently a favourite with Greene, who has put into his mouth the best poetry in the book. There are certainly some points of resemblance between Melicertus and the traditional idea of Shakspeare. Melicertus is a great maker of sonnets, and after his poetical excellence, the leading quality ascribed to him is the possession of a very ready and smooth wit, which enables him to shine in the euphuistic chaffing-matches with which the work is interlarded.

Dr Brinsley Nicholson, in the note from which we have made one extract, replies to Mr Browne as to the names, *Melibee*, and *Melicert*. As Dr Nicholson's paper is exceedingly able, we make no apology for giving nearly all the rest of it *in extenso* :

Next, as to "good Melibee." Thenot asks Collin—that is, Chettle, who, as appears from another passage in the *Mourning Garment*, was then about fifty—what had been said by wise men of old as to certain state events of their times. He asks Collin, one of the passing generation, what he had heard from men of his own and a past generation as to the causes of war between Spain and England in 1586 or 7. Now here it is to be noted that, Spenser being dead, Chettle wittingly calls himself "Collin," acknowledging that he takes the name in these words—"I cannot now forget the excellent and cunning Collin indeed (for alas I confesse my selfe too too rude)." And it is to be noted, in that it is, as I believe, one of the three examples in the book of the re-giving of a pastoral name after the first owner's death. Melibee is a second instance. The "good Melibee" of this passage I have for some time taken to be Walsingham, as suggested by Mr ELLIOT BROWNE, not only because Watson so called him in his eclogue on his death, but because Spenser in reference to this very eclogue calls him, in *The Ruins of Time* (1591), by the epithet which Chettle, as Collin the second, takes from him—

“ Good Melibee, that hath a poet got  
To sing his living praises being dead.”

But this good Melibee being dead, Chettle, speaking of poets now alive, calls Marston the friend of Anti-Horace Dekker, not good Melibee nor even Melibee, but “ young Melibee.” The error of thinking that “ songs ” in pastorals necessarily meant songs or plays, and not the sayings, or as the text glosses it “ saws,” of the persons spoken of, according as they were poets, statesmen, or prose writers, and non-attention to this distinctive epithet young, have lead to Mr R. Simpson’s curious mistakes in his Introduction to the *Siege of Antwerp*. As MR BROWNE justly says, Marston in 1586, or even 1588, was but a child. Again, Walsingham, being dead in 1590, Drayton, not bound by Chettle’s authority, or probably writing some time before 1603, applies the name Melibee to some one who was either related to, or a great friend of, Sidney, and of a station at least equal with Sidney’s or Walsingham’s. In his eclogue lament of Sidney he says (Ecl. vi.)—

“ Thou that down from the goodly western waste  
To drink at Avon driv’st thy sunned sheep,  
Good Melibœus that so wisely hast  
Guided the flocks delivered thee to keep,  
Forget not Elphin.”

And then in similar strains he adjures

“ Alexis that dost with thy flocks remain  
Far off within the Caledonian ground.”

Now this Melibœus cannot be Walsingham, because the latter had no connexion by birth or property with Salisbury Plain and Wiltshire, and because we know that this eclogue is a re-written form of a previous lament published in 1593. Nor can he be Marston, as MR SIMPSON would again have it, for first the words and the context show that statesmen or nobles are spoken of; secondly, because Marston was then a young man about town writing plays, and, in 1605, imprisoned for writing *Eastward Ho*; thirdly, because though his father-in-law, or future father-in-law, as a clergyman in Wilts, might have had sheep to keep there, Marston had none; and, fourthly, because all that we know or rather can suppose of Marston’s place of residence after he ranged himself is that it was at Coventry. But, as I have said, the poem, by its subject and wording, was probably written long before its supposed date of publication in or about 1605 (for the volume has no date), and its good Melibœus is, I should say, the husband of Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke.

Lastly, as to Melicert. I confess that though the conjunction of Sidney, Walsingham, and Shakespeare was a strange one, I was inclined to think that Chettle could not have given the same name to two people in one book. But, since reading MR ELLIOT BROWNE’S note, and reconsidering the matter, I believe that the smooth-tongued Melicert of the Philisides and Melibee trio must have been a statesman or person of eminence, and the significant name Honeycomb, or he of the honeycomb, agrees well with Ascham’s notice of Burghley in his Introduction to his *Scholemaster*, and with the description given for instance in Chalmers’ *Biography*. The same consideration is, I believe, the common key of the three examples. Colin dead, Chettle adopts the name; Walsingham dead, Drayton gives the name Melibœus to another of eminence, probably the Earl of Pembroke, who died 1601; and both being gone, Chettle gives it, with the distinctive adjunct young, to a new poet; Melicert the statesman, being dead, Chettle applies it, when speaking of living poets, to Shakespeare of the honied muse.

Clearly, if it be a condition of identification, that all three shepherds shall be poets, or at least well-known versifiers (and this is *primâ facie* the inference from Chettle’s use of the word *songs*), Mr C. E. Browne’s conjecture, that “ the smooth-tongued

Melicert" is Burghley, is put out of court. Apart from this condition, we do not understand Dr Nicholson to give Burghley the decided preference over every competitor; for manifestly Lord Buckhurst would equally well fit the place, besides satisfying the condition of being a song-writer; and for choice, perhaps we should give the preference to the latter, as the associate of Sidney and Walsingham in Chettle's prose. Meanwhile the phrase "smooth-tongued Melicert" is perhaps too vague to furnish ground for more than a plausible guess.

Yet, after all, it is by no means certain that by *songs* Chettle had in view the lyrical or other poetical performances of the three personages in question: for *in a pastoral work, the prose judgments of the real men would be described as the songs of the shepherds*; and that being so, the allusion is altogether too indefinite to be spotted. On the other hand, Philesides being called a Poet, the *songs* in his case would seem to be actual poetical performances; and if so, it would be difficult to contend that the word has not the same meaning in the reference to the other two.

The chief point of interest in Dr Nicholson's paper, is the doctrine, now first propounded, that literary nick-names not infrequently lapsed on the death of their owners, and were revived in certain of their survivors. If we are right in identifying Philesides, Melibee, and Melicert in Chettle's prose, with Sidney, Walsingham, and Buckhurst, we may very well look for those names in association with others after their former owners had passed away. Thus Walsingham and Buckhurst being dead, it is the most natural thing in the world for Chettle to bestow them on Marston and Shakspeare.

To persons unaccustomed to the literary practices of those times it must seem almost incredible that in his prose Chettle should speak of the *songs* of "good *Melibee* and smooth-tongued *Melicert*," and in his verse prolusion (in the same work) of "the silver-tongued *Melicert*" and "yong *Melibee*," and not intend to designate the same two personages by the latter as by the former pair of nick-names. But we believe that there is really nothing incredible in the supposition. On the contrary, we have shown that the very attempt to restrict the allusions to two persons only, involves the question in a mesh of absurdities.

At page 61 is a passage which recalls the maguiloquent speech of the King in *Hamlet* :

Do not feare our person :  
There's such Divinity doth hedge a King,  
That Treason can but peepe to what it would,  
Acts little of his will.

In Chettle's tract Colin says of Queen Elizabeth,

"Such majestie had her presence, and such boldnesse her heart, that she despised all feare; and was, as all Princes are, or shall be, so full of divine fulnesse [?], that guiltie mortalitie durst not beholde her but with dazeled eyes."

In 1591 Chettle became a partner with William Hoskins and John Danter in a printing business (Ames, *Typ. Ant.* by Herbert, ii. 1113). That he died about 1607 may be inferred from Dekker's *Knight's Conjuring, Done in Earnest, Discovered in Jest*, published in that year, where Chettle is introduced, as a new comer, into the limbo of poets. A list of Chettle's writings is given in Mr H. Barrett Leonard's *Introduction* to his edition of *The Tragedy of Hoffman; or, A Revenge for a Father*, 1631, the only extant play of those which Chettle wrote alone. This list contains, besides one translated and four original works, sixteen plays of which Chettle was sole author, and thirty-one plays which he wrote in conjunction with another or others. Only three or four of the latter are extant.

We know but very few biographical details of Henry Chettle. Dr Rimbault's researches have added but little to the slender stock of his predecessors. Henry Chettle was born about the year 1564-5. He had a child named Mary buried in the Church of St John, New Windsor. The inscription upon her tomb, which is preserved in Ashmole's *Antiquities of Berkshire*, 1719, iii. 75, is as follows:—

Here lyeth the Body  
of MARY CHETLE,  
The Daughter of Henry Chettle; who  
dy'd the 22 of  
September 1595. *Ætatis sue* 12.  
In Memory of whom, Robert Gwine,  
Yeoman of the Guard,  
hath caus'd this to be done.

IV., V. In connection with *Englandes Mourning Garment* we take *A Mournfull Dittie* and I. C.'s *Epigrame*, the latter referring to that and other ballads published upon the accession of James. We are unable to identify I. C. In the old catalogue of the Bodleian Library, the volume of *Epigrammes* is given under E, and is attributed to John Elsum: but in correcting this for the new Catalogue, the clerk has placed the work under C. (I) only, and cancelled the entry under Elsum. In Lowndes' B. M. the initials are altered and expanded into J. Can., on what authority, and with what view, we are unable to say. Anyhow, John Elsum can hardly be the author, if he be rightly credited there with two

books respectively dated 1700 and 1704. The uncomplimentary style in which I. C. speaks of the ballad-writers of the day, as

“The hated Fathers of vilde balladrie,”

and also as

‘the slanderers of the time,’

is accounted for in a sonnet prefixed to Robert Anton's *Philosophers satyrs*, 1616 :

To his ingenious friend, R. A. [Robert Anton.]

Deesert [*sic*] and praise are Twins. The first being quicke,  
The second still is so ; or if it die,  
Then is the first too sound, or else too sieke,  
And so may dye in grace, or Envyes eye !  
But this with wonder in my stomacke stickes,  
That Satyrs wrapt but in base Balladrie  
Are praisd beyond the moone (of lunatickes)  
As being sun-begot ; so cannot die.  
Needes must I hugge the Muso, and praise the pen  
Of him that makes his Satires dance a brall  
Unto the musick of the sphæares even then  
When as the planets footed it withall :  
Thou sharply singst, but he the burden beares  
That would have songe more sharpe but for his cares.

I. D.

The allusion in the 11th and 12th lines to Sir John Davies' *Orchestra* inclines us to believe that the signature I. D. stands for his name. The truth is that not a few of the poets of the time were envious of the popularity which greeted the political ballads, due not to their literary merit, but to their scurrility, and to the impunity enjoyed by the authors, which they owed to their obscurity.

VI. We have reprinted Gabriel Harvey's *Third Letter* for his remarkable notices of Robert Greene (pp. 130-133, 139, 142), and for his supposed allusions to Shakspeare (pp. 130, 148), viz. “The worst of the four,” and “one whom I salute with a hundred blessings.” We know otherwise that Harvey was a great admirer of Shakspeare's writings ; for we learn from George Steevens (Ed. of Sh. 1766) that Harvey had written on a blank leaf of Speght's Chaucer,

“The younger sort take much delight in Shakspeare's *Venus and Adonis* ; but his *Lucrece*, and his tragedy of *Hamlet*, Prince of Denmarke, have it in them to please the wiser sort. 1598.”

The editors of the Clarendon Press Ed. of Shakspeare (*Hamlet*, 1872, p. ix.) write thus :—

“Steevens . . . attributed to the note the date of the book, but Malone has shewn that, although Harvey may have purchased the volume in 1598, there is nothing to prove that he wrote the note till after 1600, in which year Fairfax's translation of Tasso, mentioned in another note, was published.”



If the book could be found we might possibly set this question at rest; but unfortunately, after making search, we have been unable to trace it. It belonged to Bishop Percy, then Dean of Carlisle, and was probably destroyed in 1780 with his *first* Library in the fire at Northumberland House.<sup>1</sup>

This letter, long-winded and verbose as it is, is interesting for its connection with *Green's Groats-worth of Wit*. On p. 130 Greene is abused for his voluminous writings, being called "*Greene* with the running Head, and the scribbling Hand, that never linnes [i. e. ceases] putting forth new, newer, and newest books of the maker." Harvey then says, "*Green*, vile *Greene*, would thou wearest [wert] halfe so honest, as the worst of the foure, whom thou upbraidest: or halfe so learned, as the unlearnedst of the three." That is, half as honest as Shakspeare, or half as learned as Nash: the four being, as we have seen, Marlow, Peele, Nash, and Shakspeare. "Thanke other for thy borrowed and filched plumes of some little Italianated bravery: and what remaineth, but flat Impudence, and grosse Detraction: the proper ornaments of thy sweete utterance?" This clearly alludes to Greene's attack on the *Shake-scene*. He had called Shakspeare "an upstart crow beautified with our feathers." Harvey now retaliates on Greene, and tells him that his plumes are borrowed and filched from the Italian stories.

Harvey here, also, seems to apply to Nash the expression "good *sweet* orator."

The motto, "*Omne tulit punctum*," is that of Greene's *Oberon*, and not improbably appears on other of his writings.

VII. We have next taken "Five Sections of *Palladis Tamia*," out of their chronological order, with the view of preserving the series of works which contain any notice or have any bearing upon the first of our *Allusion-Books*.

*Wits Common-Wealth* is a generic title for (probably) four distinct works, which were a series of literary commonplace books, containing miscellaneous jottings on important truths, and also on notable persons, with their wise or witty sayings. The book which gave this name to the series bears the title

(1) *Politeuphuia*, *Wits Common-Wealth*, 1597. It was a compilation by John Bodenham, and such was its popularity, that it was from time to time "newly corrected and amended," and passed through eighteen editions before the Restoration of

<sup>1</sup> The worthy Bishop's *second* Library now forms part of that of Ambrose Isted, Esq., of Ecton Hall, Northamptonshire.

Charles II., and twenty-two before the abdication of his successor. A copy of this edition was in the catalogue of Asher of Berlin, for 1844. The second edition of 1598 was issued conjointly with

(2) *Palladis Tamia*. Wits Treasury, being the second part of Wits Commonwealth. By Francis Meres, 1598. Then followed the third part, which Mr W. C. Hazlitt believes to be "Wit's Theatre of the Little World," (N. Ling) 1599: but we think this hardly likely. Lastly,

(4) *Palladis Palatium*: Wisedomes Pallace, or the fourth part of Wit's Commonwealth, (G. Blde for Francis Burton) 1604.

Of the second of these works we reprint from leaf 275 to leaf 288 of the first edition. In this short compass we have nine references to Shakspeare by name, and mention is made of his two principal poems, his sonnets, and twelve of his plays, including *Love[s] Labours Wonne*, which has not been satisfactorily identified with any of the plays in our collection. For one thing, we do not think it likely to be *All's well that ends well*, as Farmer conjectured, which, in our opinion, offers no sufficient resemblance or contrast to serve as a pendant to *Loves Labours Lost*. Meres has also one quotation from *I Hen. IV.* ii. 3; and on leaf 286, what is more important for our purpose, we find the most curious notices of R. Greene, G. Harvay, Nash, Peele, and Marlowe. Here we obtain the evidence of Nash being nicknamed "young juvenall" and being called "sweet"—whether boy or Tom matters not.

"As Actæon was woored of his owne hounds: so is *Tom Nash* of his *Iste of Dogs*. Dogges were the death of Euripetes, but hee not disconsolate, gallant young *Juvenall*, Linus, the Sonne of *Apollo* died the same death. Yet God forbid that so brave a witte should so basely perish, thine are but paper dogges, neither is thy banishment like *Ovids*, eternally to converse with the barbarous *Getes*. Therefore comfort thy selfe sweet *Tom*."

VIII. Spenser's *ACTÆON* has been identified with Shakspeare on two grounds. (1) because

"A gentler shepherd may nowhere be found;"

and *gentle* was the proverbial prefix to his Christian and surname: (2) because his name,

"Doth like himselfe heroically sound;"

and *Shake-speare* was *par excellence* an heroic name, and our Shakspeare was the author of heroic histories. As to the first point: we may very well demand the evidence of the assertion that Shakspeare was proverbially called "gentle Shakspeare," or "gentle Will;" and to this we shall find no answer till we come to those who wrote of him regretfully after his death. That he was re-

membered as such *then* is no proof that he was recognized in his lifetime as the "gentle shepherd." As to the second point: we remark that, just as Chettle, calling Shakspeare *Melicert* (Honeycomb), expounds its meaning by referring to "his honied Muse;" so may Spenser be expanding the classical nickname *Aëtion*, by referring to its heroic sound. If this be so, what poet soever may be alluded to under that heroic name, the last two lines are perfectly intelligible.

But for ourselves, we must own to a pretty strong conviction that *Aëtion* is applied by Spenser to Shakspeare. Doubtless, so far as concerns the heroic name *Aëtion* (*i. e.* 'Αετῶν, from *ætos*, an eagle,<sup>1</sup>) meaning the man of eagle-flight, Spenser might just as well be celebrating Warner, Drayton, or Daniell, all of whom had dealings with the heroic muse. Mr W. Minto, indeed, remembering that Drayton had first written under the heroic name of *Rowland*, is convinced that *Aëtion* is Drayton, whose "high thoughts invention" is sufficiently shown in his *Barons' Warres* and other works (*Academy*, January 24, 1874). Mr J. O. Halliwell (Phillipps), on the other hand, was in 1848 disposed to see in that expression an allusion to *Albion's England*, and found an heroic sound in *Warner* (*Life of Shakespeare*, p. 142). But *Shake-speare* is the typical name of martial achievement as surely as his series of heroic dramas, English and Roman, are matchless in English literature.

In proof of our assertion as to Shakspeare's surname, take the following: Fuller compares him to *Martial* (the Roman poet) for 'the *warlike* sound of his Surname (whence some may conjecture him of a *Military extraction*), *Hastivibrans*, or *Shake-speare*.' (*The Worthies of England*, 1662, pp. 120.)

The name, too, is perfectly represented by either of two Greek words, 'Εγχεσπάλος and Δορίπαλτος. There could not be better proof, than is afforded by these equivalents in the classical languages, that the act of shaking the spear was a recognized type of all martial deeds. In many places the act itself is described. The following may serve as examples of the heroic and the mock-heroic:

"He all enraged, his shivering *speare* did *shake*,  
And charging him afresh thus felly him bespake."  
(*Faerie Queen*, b. iv. c. iii. st. 10.)

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<sup>1</sup> Malone's two attempts at the etymology of this name (*Variorum*, 1621, ii. 274) are a caution to ambitious editors. He was ignorant of the only two essentials: he neither knew that *Aëtion* was a recognized Greek surname; nor that it took its rise from the Greek word for *Eagle*. See *Shakespeare's Centurie of Prayse*, 1874, p. 73-4; and the *Academy* for January 10, 1874. Our note in the former was printed six months too early to profit by that of Mr Hales.

“Behold, behold, thy garter blue,  
 Thy knight his valiant elbow weares,  
 That when he *shakes* his furious *speare*,  
 The foe in shivering fearefull sort,  
 May lay him downe in death to snort.”  
 (*Histrionastix, or, the Player whipt*, 1610. Sig. C. 4 recto.)

Finally, we have the name designated in an undated work of the time, entitled *Polydoron* :

“Names were first questionlesse given for distinction, facultie, consanguinitie, desert, qualitie: for Smith, Taylor, Joyner, Saddler, &c., were doubtlesse of the trades; Johnson, Robinson, Williamson, of the blood; Sackville, Saville, names of honourable descent; Armstrong, Shakespeares of high qualitie.”

In our recently-published work, *Shakespeare's Centurie of Prayse*, p. 10, we have referred this poem to the period April 16—December 27, in the year 1594, believing, with Malone and Halliwell, that 1591 at the foot of the dedication was a misprint for 1594; i. e. the period elapsed between the death of Lord Derby and the supposed date of the dedication. As there are difficulties to clear up in this matter of date, we have submitted it to Mr J. W. Hales, who sends us the following remarks:—

“*Colin Clout's Come Home Again* was not published till 1595; but there is no reason for doubting that it was in the main written by the time mentioned in the Dedictory letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, viz. December, 1591. Spenser crossed over to England in 1589; he probably returned to Ireland in 1591, but he may have done so in 1590. That he was back in Ireland sometime in 1591 may be confidently concluded from the words of ‘the Printer to the gentle reader’ prefixed to ‘Complaints; containing sundrie small poemes of the world's vanitie’; see the Globe Edition of Spenser's Works, p. xlv. In the quiet of Kilcolman his thoughts would naturally recall his recent sojourn in the midst of the busy world. In the letter just referred to he speaks of ‘*my late being in England*’. He wishes his friend to accept ‘this simple pastoral’ ‘in part of paiment of the infinite debt in which I acknowledge my selfe bounden unto you for your singular favours & sundrie good turns shewed to me at my late being in England’. This would have little force, if not written till December 1594, as Todd and others have urged, declaring 1591 to be a mere misprint. That *Colin Clout's Come Home Again* could have been written in no December later than that of 1591 is further proved by this fact: that when Spenser wrote it the image of Rosalind had not yet been superseded in his fancy; see the concluding lines of the poem. The old love still prevailed. Now it was in 1592 that a new love arose. It was in the course of that year that the Elizabeth, whom he married in 1594, conquered him with her charms;

see *Amoretti & Epithalamion*. Clearly then the dedicatory letter is accurate; *Colin Clout's Come Home Again* was written by the close of 1591. But it was slightly altered at the time of its publication in 1595. One of the 'shepherd's' commemorated in it had died in the interval. Ferdinando, Earl of Derby, the 'Amyntas' of the poem, died April 16, 1594 ('in the flower of his youth . . . not without suspicion of poyson,' says Dugdale, *Baronage of England*, ii. 250). The words are these, and they sufficiently indicate some alteration:

There also is (ah no, he is not now !)  
 But since I said he is, he quite is gone,  
 Amyntas quite is gone, and lies full low,  
 Having his Amaryllys left to mone.  
 Helpe, O ye Shepheards, helpe ye all in this,  
 Helpe Amaryllys this her loss to mourne;  
 Her losse is yours, your losse Amyntas is,  
 Amyntas, floure of Shepheards pride forlorne.  
 He whilest he lived was the noblest swaine,  
 That ever piped in an oaten quill;  
 Both did he other, which could pipe, maintaine,  
 And eke could pipe himselve with passing skill.

It may plausibly be conjectured that the original copy ran thus:

There also is Amyntas, noblest swaine,  
 That ever piped in an oaten quill;  
 Both does he other, which can pipe, maintaine,  
 And eke can pipe himselve with passing skill.

"Nash had reproached Spenser with not having admitted this nobleman, then Lord Strange, into that honourable catalogue of our English Heroes which insueth the Conclusion of thy famous Faerie Queene' (see quotation from the *Pierce Pennilesse his Supplication*, &c., *apud* Todd's Spenser, i. xci.), and in the revision of *Colin Clout's Come Home Again* Spenser made amends. Possibly other corrections were introduced, as in the case of Daniel; see Todd, i. xciii; but with regard to this point one must remember how commonly in the Elizabethan works circulated in manuscript years before they found their way into print.

"The only external objection to the date 1591 for the writing of *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*—and it is really trivial by the side of the arguments in favour of that date—is that *Daphnida* is dated 'London this first of Januarie 1591.'—Either this is a misprint, to adopt Todd's method of solving such a difficulty, only applying it differently; or, as the late Prof. Craik suggested, Spenser here makes January the first month of the year 1591." This argument would require modification if Mr Edward Arber's view should turn out to be correct: viz. that Spenser's *Amyntas* was Thomas Watson. (English Reprints: *Thomas Watson's Poems*.)

15 March, 1870, p. 16.) But Mr Hales's view is probably right.

Prof. Craik's suggestion is supported by Spenser's division of the year in his *Shepherds Calender*. After all, we need not inquire whether six days was not enough time for Spenser to have travelled from Kilcolman to London: for the *Daphnida* appears to be alluded to in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*, so that the December of the latter should be after the January of the former work.

IX. *Willobie his Avis*, said to be a poem "in hexameter verse," because each verse contains six lines, was first published in 1594; and we have reprinted the commendatory poem and four *canti* from that edition. Other editions were in 1596, 1605, 1609, and 1635. From the Epistles found in these several editions we learn all we know of the presumptive author of this remarkable poem. A word on some of these first. To the edition of 1594 are prefixed an "Epistle Dedicatory" as well as an "Epistle to the Reader." Both are from Hadrian Dorrell, the reputed editor of the book and friend of its author. The latter he dates "from my chamber in Oxford, this first of October." To the edition of 1605 Dorrell adds an "apologie, shewing the true meaning of Willobie his Avis," which professes to answer some who misconstrued the poem, especially P. C. [Peter Colse], and ends with those remarkable words:—

"If any notwithstanding will continue the error of their vnsatisfied minds they must for ever rest in the[ir] rightlesse erring, till the author (now of late gone to God) returne from Heaven to satisfie them farther touching his meaning. And so farewell. Oxford this 30 of June 1596."

A poem called *The Victory of English Chastity* printed next to the *Apologie* is signed "Thomas Willoby Frater Henrici Willoby nuper defuncti" [n. d].<sup>1</sup> From these promises we should naturally conclude that there were two brothers, Henry and Thomas Willoby (Willobie, or Willoughby, the orthography being phonetic), both of whom were poets, and wrote on one and the same subject. The *Apologie* also records that Henry Willobie left "many other pretty things—of his devising," and a poem called *Susanna*, which must have been suggested by the story of *Susanna and the Elders*, and therefore we are asked to believe that both brothers wrote poems (*Avisa*, *Susanna*, and *The Victory of English Chastity*) on one subject—chastity, maidenly, or matronly; which, to say the least, is surprising. We also learn from the same premises that Henry Willobie died at Oxford between Oct. 1, 1594, and June

<sup>1</sup> Having been unable to see a copy of this edition, we are here trusting to the account of it in the *British Bibliographer*, vol. iii. p. 241. The edition of 1596 is only "presumed" in that work, nor has Mr Hazlitt "met with" it.

30, 1596, and that his brother survived him. One might almost guess already that Hadrian Dorrell is hoaxing us; that he was the Henry Willobie of the *Avisa* and *Susanna*, and after June, 1596, the Thomas Willobie of the *Victorie*. We shall soon find fresh suggestions of doubt.

In the editions of 1605 and 1635 are found the *Apology* and the *Epistle to the Reader*. In the former Dorrell says the author "fained an Individuum: \* \* to this fained Individuum, he gave this fained name *Avisa*;" and in the latter he writes

"I found this very name AVISA, written in great letters, a pretty distance a sunder, and under every letter, a word beginning with the same letter, in this forme,

A.	V.	I.	S.	A.
Amans	Vxor	Inuiolata	Semper	Amanda."

But Dorrell presently goes on to say,

"Yet of the other side, when I doe more deeply consider of it and more narrowly weigh every particular part, I am driven to thinke that there is something of truth hidden under this shadow. The reasons that move me are these. First in the same paper where I found the name of AVISA written in great letters, as I said before, I found this also written with the author's owne hand, viz. 'Yet I would not have Avisa to be thought a publike fiction, nor a truthlesse invention, for it may be, that I have at least heard of one in the west of England, in whom the substance of all this hath been verified, and in many things the verie words specified which hath endured these and many more, and many greater assaults, yet, as heere, she stands unspotted, and unconquered.'"

Who the lady was has never been determined, nor yet where she abode. We must not rush to the conclusion that her name was Susan, from the mention of *Avi-Susan* in the commendatory poem: for that has no more reference, of necessity, to the real lady's name than *Lucres-Avis* (phonetic for *Lucrece-Avis*), the Susan being the Susanna of the Apocrypha, and the Lucres being the Lucrece of Roman History; the former celebrated by H. W. (Henry Willobie), the latter by W. S. (William Shakspeare). Avisa, like the lady "in the west of England," abode

At Western side of Albion's isle  
Where Austine pitcht his monkish tent,

which suggests Glastonbury; and her homestead is described in the single stanza which constitutes Canto XLVI. If one might make a guess at the lady's real name, from the hint given in that stanza, *St George* is at once suggested, and one is reminded of *Rich. III.* v. 3,

Our ancient word of courage, fair Saint George,  
Inspire us with the spleen of fiery dragons!  
Upon them! Victory sits upon our helms.

But there are two statements in Dorrell's *Apology* which are hard to reconcile. He writes:

"This poetical fiction was penned by the Author at least for thirtie and five yeeres since (as it will be proved), and lay in wast papers in his study, as many other prettie things did of his devising; and so might have continued still (as his Susanna yet doth) had not I, contrarie to his knowledge, with paine collected it and published it."

We know from the *British Bibliographer*, vol. iii. pp. 242, 258, that this passage is in the *Apology* (dated 1596) added to the edition of 1605. Now, 35 from 1596 leaves 1561, so that, according to Dorrell's statement, Henry Willobie had written his *Avisa* by June, 1561. The poem showing no sign of immaturity, we must conclude that he was nearly of age at that date; which will throw his birth back to about 1540. Taking that year as a basis of computation, he must have been from 53 to 56 at the time of his death. At least he was then a man of fifty, an elderly man, of whose achievements Dorrell might have written with praise, but of whom he could not have written as of a promising student and a young soldier: yet Dorrell describes him, in his epistle of Oct. 1594, as "a scholar of very good hope," and what is even more absurd, as a "young man, who, desirous of seeing the fashion of other countries, had not long sithence departed voluntarily in her Majesty's service," whereas he was in June, 1596, *nuper defunctus*, and had "not long sithence" departed at the bidding of the King of kings. Sir Egerton Brydges considered that this "anachronism [might] be ascribed to inadvertency." For ourselves, we see in it the *pes claudus* which so persistently dogs the hoaxer; and we are led to the conclusion, already mentioned, that *Willobie his Avisa* is of the same class as *The Legacy of an Etonian*, Edited by Robert Noland, sole executor (Macmillan, 1846), where the executor's name is a pseudonym, and the editor was sole author of the poems, which are there attributed to "a young friend, Mr E——n." Here, *nostro judicio*, we have the key to the Willobie-Dorrell mystery. Otherwise, we should be driven to the conclusion that this poem, which is redolent of late Elizabethan associations, belongs (by a miraculous anachronism) to the reign of Henry VIII., and that therefore the interlocutor whose initials are W. S. could not be William Shakspero, seeing he was not born till the third year after the poem was written.

On the other hand, the name of Willobie is found in a marginal note in William Clarke's *Polimanteia*, 1595, where he is referred to as one of those of Oxford who "are able to sing sweetly when it please thee." Clarke makes "England to her three daughters," the Universities, say,



Sweet Ma-  
ster Campion.

Britton.  
Percie.  
Willobie.  
Fraunce.  
Lodge.  
Master Da-  
uis of L. I.  
Drayton.  
Learned M.  
Plat.

"I know, *Cambridge*, howsoever now old, thou hast some young, bid them be chaste, yet suffer them to be witty; let them be soundly learned, yet suffer them to be gentlemanlike qualified: *Oxford* thou hast many, and they are able to sing sweetly when it please thee. And thou youngest of all three, either in Hexameter English, thou art curious (but that thou learnedst of my daughter *Cambridge*) or in any other kinde thou art so wisely merrie, as my selfe (though olde) am often delighted with thy musick, tune thy sweet strings, & sing what please thee," [sign Q3, back.]

But this does not clear up the difficulty, as Clarke may have only known Willobie's name from the book.

The commendatory poem (called an *Hexameton*) contains the earliest printed mention of Shakspeare that has yet been discovered. Its date is at least as early as the first edition of *Willobie his Avisa*, viz. 1594; i. e. one year earlier than that of Clarke's *Polimanteia*, in a marginal note to which the name of Shakspeare also occurs. The second verse of this *Hexameton*, in which Shakspeare is named as the author of *Lucrece*, was quoted by Mr J. P. Collier in his Introduction to that poem (Ed. of Shakespeare, 1858, vol. vi. p. 526). He here also refers to the *Canti* of the *Avisa*, which we have reprinted at large, in his *Life of Shakespeare* (Ibid. vol. i. p. 115). The dialogue between H. W. and W. S. was first reprinted in Ellis' *Specimens*, vol. ii. p. 378, and subsequently at greater length by Sir Walter C. Trevelyan, in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd S. ix. 59-60, under date Jan. 28, 1860.

The *Hexameton* is signed *Contraria Contrariis : Vigilantius : Dormitanus*, under which fanciful signature some have supposed to lurk the real name of the writer: but all that it appears to mean is that, if we designate contraries by contraries, the author is *Wide-awake Sleepy-head*: which might possibly contain a pun on his name.

X.—XVII. Sir Wm Harbert's *Epicedium* and the stanza from Michael Drayton's *Matilda* are supposed to allude to Shakspeare's *Rape of Lucrece*, which was first printed in 1594. Some doubt as to the latter allusion is raised by the expression

Acting her passions on our stately stage.

Undoubtedly that line means what it says; for in another poem of Drayton's, *Mistress Shore to Edward V.*, we have the same expression applied to Tragedy,

Or passionate Tragedian in his rage  
Acting a Love-sick passion on the stage.

But we know of but one play on the subject of *Lucrece*,

Thomas Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*; and that was not printed till 1608; and we do not know of its having been performed before that year; and having regard to the recent publication of Shakspeare's poem, we should naturally refer Drayton's allusion to that piece. The verse we have reprinted is found in two editions of *Matilda*, viz. those of 1594 and 1596. A copy of the former is at Sion College, and of the latter in the British Museum. In subsequent editions that verse is not found. Can it be that Drayton was originally under the impression that Shakspeare's poem was a play; and on finding out his mistake expunged the allusion? Who shall say?

We have reprinted nearly two pages of "a letter from England to her three daughters," appended to *Polimanteia*, 1595, for the sake of some most curious and enigmatical *marginalia* or side-notes, where occurs what is for us the "captain-jewel of the carkanet"—"Lucrecia sweet Shakspeare;" in which we see a recommendation of Shakspeare's second heir, *Lucrece*, so called on the title-page of the first edition, 1594. This is the second mention of Shakspeare; and in both *Arise* and *Polimanteia* his name is associated with his *Rape of Lucrece*. We may note, too, the epithet "sweet," which must be taken in corroboration of the fact, to which we have already adverted, that Shakspeare was, *par excellence*, designated *mellifluous* and *honey-tongued*, and his muse proverbially compared to honey, sugar, and nectar. In this we recognize a conventional compliment of the day; but also to some extent an accurate estimate of Shakspeare's poetry; for his versification was so melodious, and his subject and treatment so sensuous, that with young and susceptible readers his poems were "the best books in the world." (See Machin's *Dumb Knight*.)

Most of the text of our extract relates to Samuel Daniel, whose tragedy of *Oleopatra* (and "well graced *Anthony*"), *Complaint of Rosamond*, and LVII. Sonnets (with *Ode* and *Pastorall*) *To Delia*, are here praised. The divine Lady is Daniel's patroness, Mary, Countess of Pembroke.

Below "sweet Shakspeare" is "Eloquent Gaveston," which is certainly an allusion to Michael Drayton, who wrote *Piers Gaveston*: and between this and the allusion of Daniel's *Oleopatra* (or else to the prefixed Letter from Octavia to Anthony) are the enigmatical words "Wanton Adonis. Watson's heyre." These have been variously explained. Some have read the two expressions together, and identifying "Wanton Adonis" with the "first heir" of Shakspeare's invention, have declared him to be "Watson's heyre" or literary successor. This would appear to be Mr Edward Arber's view (*English Reprints: Thomas Watson's*

*Poems*, 15 March, 1870, p. 16), but he unintentionally gives a point to the allusion which the original work does not countenance, by printing "Wanton Adonis. Watson's heyre," by itself, on the opposite margin of the extract from *Polimanteia*; it is so, indeed, in the original; but only because it is on the next page, all the notes being on the outside margin of the text. If the division of the pages be disregarded, the four words in question should be placed on the same margin as the preceding notes. Mr C. Elliot Browne argues for the same conclusion (*Notes and Queries*, 4th S. xi. 378, May 10, 1873); and regarding the heirship of Shakspeare to concern the *Sonnets* mainly or solely, sees in that fact (if fact it be) "some ground for inferring that he [Shakspeare] had acquired a reputation for his sonnets, three years before the notice by Meres in 1598." But this is mere circular reasoning: for we must first know the fact of that reputation before we can infer the desired heirship from the note in *Polimanteia*: since it is highly probable that W. C. would not have given Shakspeare such a name as "Watson's heyre" (q. d. in sonnet-writing) unless Shakspeare had already been publicly recognized as Watson's chief rival in that art.

Others have seen in the same four words an allusion to some posthumous poetical work of Watson's, which at that time would be recognized under the name of "Wanton Adonis," and evidently the date of Watson's death favours that hypothesis, for there would be from two to three years for such a work to be printed and published; so that it might be just exciting notice at the time W. C. wrote his *Polimanteia*. Another view has occurred to ourselves; viz. that as Watson was nicknamed "the English Petrarch," and W. C. himself calls Spenser "thy Petrarch," i. e. the Petrarch of Cambridge, he may have regarded Spenser (who survived Watson) as "Watson's heyre." It is true he has already named Spenser in the margin: but he names Drayton in the margin, and afterwards praises his *Gaveston*. On this view, however, "Wanton Adonis" presents some difficulty: for if the "sweet and chaste" poem of *Venus and Adonis*, in which Venus is the wanton and assailing party and Adonis the coy and unconquerable youth, could be called by that singularly inappropriate name, W. C. would surely have mentioned it with "Lucrecia," and not have inserted "Eloquent Gaveston" between Shakspeare's two poems.

Another view is that "Watson's heyre" is Henry Constable; and Dr Brinsley Nicholson has with some ingenuity supported this as the more probable conjecture (*Notes and Queries*, 4th S. xi. 491, June 14, 1873), but his argument does not carry conviction

to our mind. Others think the "heyre" was Abraham Fraunce. Our impression is, that the full points in these *marginalia* were intended to mark a complete separation of names; and therefore that "Wanton Adonis" (poem or author) is not to be identified with "Watson's heyre." At present there is not sufficient evidence before us to interpret satisfactorily those enigmatical terms. The *marginalia* are just such notes as the author might have written on the margins of his manuscript, as suggestions for perfecting the "Letter;" and these, by reason of his absence or death, might have been printed as integral parts of his work. It is always exceedingly difficult to identify these loose allusions of an Elizabethan author to a contemporary writer, especially if they are complimentary: for either the compliment is too weak a generality, or it contains an estimate of literary merit which is utterly discrepant with the verdict of posterity. This fact is brought home to us with great force when we see how *inappropriate*, as well as *inadequate*, was the praise bestowed on Shakspeare by his contemporaries: and to this day we are unable to identify the rising wit, whose exceeding great promise, as that of a splendid sun-rising, is celebrated by John Davies of Hereford in his *Paper's Complaint*.

Of the other small pieces here reprinted, the little that was to be said, is said in the brief notes appended to them respectively.

We will only add that the allusions in Marston's *Scourge of Villanie* are the earliest distinct allusions to any of Shakspeare's plays. Those of Greene, Chettle, and Harvey, and that of Spenser (if it be an allusion to Shakspeare, which is certainly somewhat doubtful) do severally contain a side glance at his Histories: the writers of our other excerpts know him, for the most part, as an amatory poet. In Marston we meet with a distinct recognition of his popularity as a playwright. From this time forward till Shakspeare's death (as we shall see in the Second Part of our *Allusion-Books*) his contemporaries notice his plays much more frequently than his poems, and utterly ignore his Sonnets.

The lines parodied by Marston in the first extract from *The Scourge of Villanie* are in *Romeo and Juliet*; where Capulet cries,

A hall! a hall! give room and foot it girls.  
More light, ye knaves.

The "worthy poet" was Sir John Davies, the gifted author of *Orchestra, or a Poeme on Dauncing*, 1596. Kemp's jig (like Tarleton's jig, already mentioned) was one of those diversions of

combined singing and dancing, which was invented and performed by him. (See Dyce's Introduction to Kemp's *Nine days Wonder*, p. xx., and Collier's *Memoirs of Actors*, pp. 100-102.)

The Committee desire me to express their thanks to Mr Henry Huth for his great kindness in lending them his very rare originals of the first three of these '*Allusion-Books*' to reprint. I have also to record my thanks to Miss L. Toulmin Smith for her aid in the revision of my proofs.

C. M. I.

*Valentines, Ilford, September, 1874.*

## A FEW NOTES AND CORRECTIONS

TO

## GABRIEL HARVEY'S THIRD LETTER.

Page	Line	
125	34	"the olde Fox" is Dr Perne, who is mentioned on p. 5. Nash alludes to him more than once. See his <i>Strange News or Four Letters Coupled</i> (Sig. F 4. verso), where we find in italics, "the olde Foxe Doctour Perne".
129	1	"than". It is "then" in the old copy.
	20	"we" is an error of the old copy for "with".
130	22, 23	"him or them": i. e. Robert Greene or the brothers Harvey.
	24	"their lives": i. e. the lives of the brothers.
	25	"he that lived not" is John Harvey.
131	20	"The second Toy of London": Toy was the name of a contemporary stage clown. (See Dodsley's <i>Old Plays</i> , ed. Collier, 1825, vol. 9, p. 50, note.)
	30	"a Player" means a gamester or gambler—not an actor or a playwright.
133	17	"be like" ( <i>sic</i> in the old copy) is "belike".
	24, 25	"and how many millions of greene youthes, haue in ouermounting, most ruefully dismounted": a parallel to a well-known crux in <i>Macbeth</i> .
134	4, 5	"his inwardest companion, that tasted of the fatall herringe": an allusion to Robert Greene's death. (See our reprint from <i>Meres' Wits Treasury</i> , p. 164, ll. 29, 30.)
	34, 35	" <i>Fauste precor gelida</i> ". This is also given to Ilosofernes in <i>Loves Labours Lost</i> , IV. iii. 95. It is quoted, says Dyce, from the beginning of the First Eclogue of Mantuanus: i. e. Baptista Spagnolo.
136	11	<i>Nocta</i> is our error for <i>Nocte</i> .
137	17	Harvey has "bostesse", an evident error for "hostesse".
139	24	"haunted" ( <i>sic</i> in the old copy) should be "hunted".
143	17	"mouths". The old copy has "mouth".
144	24	The "verse" is probably Gabriel Harvey's.
	26	The "Sonnet" is probably that printed by Harvey at the end of his <i>Four Letters and Certaine Sonnets</i> .
148	4	May not "Gnomes" be an error for "Tomes", a word elsewhere used by Harvey?
	9, 10	The mention of Thomas Watson proves that he was alive at the date of the letter; and we know that he died before the end of the year.
149	7	"Dammeo" is the word of the old copy. It is probably an error for "Dammes", i. e. "Dams."

## SUPPLEMENT

I. GREENE ON NASH. II. CHETTLE ON SHAKSPERE.

III. MARLOWE, GREENE, AND SHAKSPERE.

BY RICHARD SIMPSON, ESQ., B.A.

*(Reprinted from THE ACADEMY, April 11, 1874, p. 400.)*

MR HOWARD STAUNTON, in a recent letter to the *Athenæum*, tries to show that a passage in the Epistle prefixed to Chettle's *Kind Heart's Dream*, 1592, which has been always considered to refer to Shakspeare, does not so refer; and, incidentally, that the three playwrights to whom Greene addressed his epistle, appended to his *Groatsworth of Wit*, are not Marlowe, Lodge, and Peele, but Marlowe, Nash, and Peele. On the former point I differ from Mr Staunton, on the latter I agree with him. Perhaps it is worth while to discuss the two points, as Chettle's and Greene's two pamphlets are to be among the first publications of the New Shakspeare Society.

I.—First, with regard to the question whether the "Young Juvenal" of Greene's letter was Lodge or Nash—Dr Farmer first said it was Nash, but Malone denied it on two grounds; that we know that Greene and Lodge wrote a comedy together, *The Looking-glass for London*, but we know of no comedy written by Greene and Nash; and that Nash was pointed at as the real author of Greene's posthumous letter, which would not be natural if he was one of those to whom it was addressed. Therefore, Malone concluded "Young Juvenal" was Lodge and not Nash. And Shaksperian scholars have generally followed Malone's lead, till Mr Howard Staunton.

But "Young Juvenal" cannot be Lodge. The chief point which Greene dwells upon is the age of the man he addresses. He is "young," and "boy." Now Lodge was three years older than Greene. In 1592 Lodge was 35 and Greene was 32, neither of them "boys." Lodge was born probably in 1557; he was B.A. July 8, 1577. In 1592 he was a weather-beaten sailor. Greene was born in 1560, and became B.A. at an earlier age in 1578.

Again, Lodge was absent from England at the date of Greene's letter. He sailed in Cavendish's second expedition; the ships left Plymouth Aug. 26, 1591, reached Brazil Dec. 15, and re-

mained at Santos till Jan. 22, 1592, when they sailed for the Straits of Magellan: on Sept. 13, 1592 the South Sea was sighted, but the ships were driven back into the straits. October 2 they fetched the South Sea again, where they were cruelly buffeted, but recovered the straits a third time. February 6, 1593, they were at Placentia. One of the ships, without victuals, sails, and almost without men, came to land, at Bearhaven in Ireland, June 11, 1593. It is not to be supposed that the absent Lodge was one of those to whom Greene addressed his letter, as if they were all present in London at the time.

Again, it is generally thought that Lodge had forsworn writing for the theatre in 1589. The last stanza of his *Scyllæus Metamorphosis* of that date contains the lines:—

. . . "And then by oath he [Glauco] bound me  
To write no more of that whence shame doth grow,  
Or tie my pen to Pennie Knaves delight,  
But live with fame, and so for fame to write."

If he kept this vow, it is clear that his two plays must be dated before 1589. And *The Looking-glass for London*, in which Greene was parcel author with him, seems to have been written early in 1589, for Greene in the dedication of his *Mourning Garment* (1589) to the Earl of Cumberland has some allusions to the matter of the play, as if it was then fresh in his memory. Thus Lodge and Greene had written a comedy together early in 1589. Is this any proof that Lodge must have been the person whom Greene, three and a half years later, addressed as having "lastly with me together writ[ten] a comedy"? Lastly means "quite lately." It would be absurd to torture the meaning of the word to prop up so weak a conclusion as this, that Lodge must have been the man, because a comedy written by Lodge and Greene nearly four years before happens to have survived, whereas in the general shipwreck of Greene's dramatic works no comedy avowedly written by him with any one else has been preserved.

Again, Lodge could not with propriety be called a Juvenal in 1592. *A Fig for Momus*, his only satirical work, was not published till 1595. And when he there states that the present instalment was only a trial, and that he had in his hands a whole centon more Satires, which should suddenly be published if those passed, he implies that those then printed were the only ones that had seen the light, or had been submitted to men's judgment. But the satirist whom Greene mentions had already "vexed scholars with his sharp and bitter lines," and they had "reproved his too much liberty of speech." "Young Juvenal" had attacked individuals, and Greene advises him to do so no more. Lodge had



never done so. Even after 1595 Lodge was never called "Juvenal." His Satires fell flat, and the world never asked him to publish the store which he had in reserve, or to print a new edition of those he had given forth. Two years after *A Fig for Momus*, Hall published the first three books of his Satires, and in his prologue, oblivious of Lodge, claimed to be the first writer of this kind:

"I first adventure, follow me who list,  
And be the second English satirist."

In the controversy about priority between Hall and Marston, no one ever thought of pleading Lodge's indubitable first claim. Perhaps the title of Juvenal, except in irony, would have been the last to be conceded by his contemporaries to this sweet pastoral poet, indifferent satirist, and still less commendable playwright.

Young Juvenal then is not Lodge. Is he Nash?

Nash's age and appearance fit well. He was born in November, 1567. He was 7 years younger than Greene, and wanted some two months of 25 years when Greene's letter was written. He was a beardless youth, with a shaggy head of hair, if we may credit his portrait<sup>1</sup> in *The Trimming of Thomas Nash*, where however his open mouth and "lips ugly wrested" might, on a too slight inspection, be mistaken for a hungry beard.

Nash also was a "biting satirist," who since 1589 had been sowing his pasquinades broad-cast, and had already "vexed scholars with his sharp and bitter lines." He had begun writing as Greene's coadjutor, with a preface to *Menaphon*, in which whole classes of the writers of the time were treated with much disdain. The attack was followed up the same year in his *Anatomy of Absurdity*. The Puritans, their favourers, and all who wished to give them a fair hearing, were attacked with wit, malice, buffoonery, and venom in *The Countercuffe*, 1589, *The Return of the Renowned Cavaliero*, *Pasquil of England*, 1589, *Martin's Month's Mind*, 1589, *Pasquil's Apology*, 1590, *An Almond for a Parrott*, 1590. The personal war with the Harveys was already begun in the *Wonderful Strange Astrological Prognostication*, 1591. *Pierce Penniless*, 1592, is subsequent to Greene's death, for Nash tells us that he had intended to print an epistle "to the ghost of Robert Greene" in the first edition of it, had not the fear of infection detained him with his Lord (Whitgift) in the country (at Croydon). Here was abundant material for calling Nash

<sup>1</sup> He is also spoken of as beardless in Harvey's text; and in it (further back, I think) there are two satirical lines on his want and its cause.—B. Nicholson.

"Young Juvenal." He had already christened himself the Pasquil of England; and "Juvenal," if I remember rightly, was the name given him by Meres in 1598.

It remains to show that Nash and Greene had probably written a comedy together shortly before September, 1592. That Greene joined Nash, Lily, and perhaps Kempe in writing the Anti-Martinist plays and pamphlets we have this evidence, among much more to the same purpose. Nash, in his *Strange News*, 1592, explains why Greene attacked the Harvey family in his *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*. He says that Richard Harvey, in his *Percival the Peacemaker*, took upon him to play "jack of both sides twixt Martin and us," and snarled at Lily and Nash himself; and afterwards in his *Lamb of God* reviled Nash and Lily, and "mistermed all our other poets and writers about town 'piperly make-plays and make-bates.'" Then, Greene, "being chief agent for the company," canvassed Harvey and his brothers in the work mentioned above. This shows that Greene was one of those who wrote the plays and pasquinades against Martin, and that they were a company, and wrote in common. Hence it is more than probable that Greene and Nash together wrote one or more of those multitudinous comedies, referred to by Lily in *Pap with a Hatchet*, and Nash in his *Martin's Month's Mind*, and *Pasquil's Return*, some of which only were acted, and those so violent that the children of Paul's were inhibited from acting before October, 1589, and a strict censorship set up over all other companies of actors a month later. But the company's business was not over with this inhibition; nor did the controversy with the Puritans altogether forsake the stage. In 1592 we find it still going on. Early in that year, Lord Strange's company brought out a new play, or rather an old one re-written, *A Knack to know a Knave*, a "moral" similar to Greene and Nash's *Looking-glass*, consisting of an historical over-plot—in which Edgar stands for Queen Elizabeth, and Dunstan for Whitgift, where Dunstan is treated much as Bacon is treated in Greene's *Friar Bacon*,—and a satirical underplot, in which the puritanical clerical knave comes in for the chief lashing. A careful perusal will show many scenes written by a euphuistic poet like Greene, and many others, pervaded with the gibing spirit of Nash. I should be loth to affirm that this is the comedy actually referred to by Greene in his letter to the play-writers, but it seems to me to be much more likely to be the play "lastly" written by him and "Young Juvenal" together, than the *Looking-glass for London* is; because for other reasons Lodge, the joint-author of the latter play, cannot be the "Young Juvenal" of the letter.

There is only one other point to notice ; it is Malone's argument, that because some contemporaries supposed the letter to be Nash's and not Greene's, therefore Nash could not be one of the persons to whom it was addressed. But surely these readers may have been either careless readers who had failed to notice the two short sentences in which Nash is described, or wary readers who thought that Nash, when he wrote in Greene's name, not impolitically addressed the letter to himself, in order to put guessers off the true scent, and to suggest to them the very same false argument which took in so good a critic as Malone.

Mr Staunton says that he has "evidence" that Nash and not Lodge is the person intended. If he has any new facts bearing on the point, "I take it there is but two ways, either to utter them or to conceal them." For myself, what I have adduced convinces me that Lodge certainly was not, and Nash almost as certainly was, the person addressed by Greene as "Young Juvenal."

II.—The second point is, whether Chettle refers to Shakspeare in the apology for the *Groatsworth of Wit*. In the Epistle to the Gentlemon readers prefixed to *Kind Heart's Dream*, Chettle says,

"About three months since died M. Robert Greene, leaving many papers in sundry booksellers' hands; among other, his *Groatsworth of Wit*, in which a letter written to divers playmakers is offensively by one or two of them taken; and because on the dead they cannot be avenged, they wilfully forge in their conceits a living author; and after tossing it to and fro, no remedy but it must light on me. . . . With neither of them that take offence was I acquainted, and with one of them I care not if I never be: the other whom at that time I did not so much spare as since I wish I had. . . . I am as sorry as if the original fault had been my fault, because myself have seen his demeanour no less civil than he excellent in the quality he professes: besides, divers of worship have reported his uprightness of dealing which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writing that approves his art."

Mr Staunton bows to the general consent which identifies the first of these two with Marlowe, but not to the equal unanimity which identifies the other with Shakspeare. For, he remarks, Chettle expressly says that Greene's letter was written to divers playmakers and by one or two of them offensively taken. Now the letter was not written to Shakspeare, but against him.

This is true, and if Chettle wrote with unerring accuracy and with classical refinement he would not have confounded the "ad" and "in." As the epigrammatist says:—

In libris tria verba meis celebrantur; ad, in, de:  
De docet; Ad dignos laudat; et In lacerat.

Greene wrote *ad*, to Marlowe, "Young Juvenal", and Peele, and *in*, against Shakspeare. Chettle, if he had been writing with the forethought and care with which a lawyer makes a will, should

have said that Greene's letter was to divers playmakers and against another. But in common and less fastidious speech the first phrase "to divers" would comprehend the second, and would point out all the persons aimed at in the letter. A Frenchman would say that the letter was directed to Shakspeare as much as to the others: "*Ce trait malin est allé à son adresse.*" The argument, therefore, which builds so much on Chettle's use of the word "to" is entirely unsafe. The assumption of such a prudish precision in him is a precarious hypothesis.

The application of Chettle's words to Shakspeare should be rather tested by facts, than by grammatical niceties. First, we may examine it thus. Greene addresses (so to say) four persons, and says something characteristic of all four. Two of them take offence, and Chettle apologises; the apology ought naturally to fit the offensive remarks. We may see for whom the apology is meant, by finding out to whom Greene addressed the insults which it retracts.

The four objects of Greene were: 1. Marlowe; 2. "Young Juvenal" (either Lodge or Nash); 3. Peele; 4. Shakspeare. The first three he extols, but with some mixture of blame. Marlowe, though the famous gracer of tragedians, had said in his heart there is no God; had an excellent wit, but gave no glory to the Giver; studied Machiavelli, and was a disciple of his political liberty.

"Young Juvenal" was a biting satirist, who made enemies by bitter words addressed to persons not to characters, and who "had vexed scholars with bitter lines," and had in turn been re-proved for his too much liberty of speech.

Peele was no less deserving than the other two, in some things rarer, in nothing inferior. He had but one fault, he wrote for the common players, and thereby was worthy of the extreme shifts to which he was driven.

All these three in common were also warned against profane oaths, drunkonness, lust, and epicurean flatterers.

Shakspeare is described as an upstart crow "beautified with our feathers" (by which I believe Greene meant simply an actor who had assumed the part of an author, but which Chettle and others understood as implying a charge of dishonest appropriation of other men's compositions), "a tiger's heart wrapped in a player's hide" (a ferocious ruffian)—one who supposed himself as well able to bombast out a blank verse as Marlowe himself; an absolute *Johannes factotum*; in his own conceit the only Shakespeare in a country; and one who, by favour of his fellows the players, those apes, rude grooms, buckram gentlemen, peasants,

and despicable painted monsters, had already supplanted Greene in his calling of playwright, and would soon supplant Marlowe, Peele, and "Young Juvenal" also, unless they were beforehand with him, and forsook the trade.

Chettle's apology is made to two of these four persons. To Marlowe he can say no more than this: that he does not desire his acquaintance; that he reverences his learning; that he hopes he will use him no worse than he deserves; and that he did greatly mitigate Greene's charges against him. To the other he apologises by bearing witness to his "civil demeanour," his "excellence in the quality he professes," his "honesty and uprightness of dealing," his "facetious grace in writing," and his "art." These are exactly the points which Greene had assailed in Shakspeare, but had not touched in the cases of "Young Juvenal" and Peele. If Chettle, therefore, dealt out his retractation with any view whatever to the imputations he was retracting, he must have meant Shakspeare, and neither of the others.

Again, if this apology was not addressed to Shakspeare, it must have been meant either for Peele, or Lodge, or Nash. No one has ever suggested that Peele took offence; nor indeed had he reason to be offended. It could not have been Lodge, because Chettle within three months of Greene's death, September 3, 1592, had become acquainted with the man, had witnessed his civil demeanour and his excellent carriage in his profession. But at Christmas, 1592, Lodge was in the Straits of Magellan. Mr Staunton thinks that it was Nash; but there are several reasons against this. First, Chettle says that the two who took offence, because they could not be revenged on a dead man, wilfully forged a living author; and having tossed it to and fro, having thrown suspicion first on one, then another, at last they fixed on Chettle. In reply to this, he ends his apology by protesting that "it was all Greene's, not mine, nor Master Nash's, as some unjustly have affirmed." This clearly means that the two who took offence in tossing the imputed authorship to and fro, had first fixed on Nash, and then on Chettle. Nash, then, cannot have been one of those two.

But though he was not one of these two offended persons, Nash did take offence at Greene's posthumous pamphlet, or rather, perhaps, at the report that it was his. "Other news I am advertised of," he writes in an Epistle prefixed to the second edition of *Pierce Penniless*, "that a scald, trivial, lying pamphlet called *Greene's Groatworth of Wit* is given out to be of my doing. God never have care of my soul, but utterly renounce me, if the least word or syllable in it proceeded from my pen, or if I were

in any way privy to the writing or printing of it." He was evidently sore that Marlowe and the other [Shakspeare] should have attributed the pamphlet to him, and in his vexation he called it "scald, trivial, lying." "Possibly," observes Mr Collier, "one of the lying portions of it, in the opinion of Nash, was that in which an attack was made upon Shakspeare." Dyce is surprised at this remark, because Nash was in the same fellowship of playwrights, and must have shared Greene's jealousy and fear of Shakspeare. But, he adds, Nash's offence at the pamphlet resulted from his view "of the probable consequences of such a publication to himself: he was vexed and irritated because its disclosures concerning men with whom he was well known to have associated—the dead Greene and the still-living Marlowe—had a strong tendency to injure his own character; and he boldly pronounced it to be a 'lying pamphlet,' in the hope of shaking its credit with the world." Dyce's observation gains much force from the fact, unknown to him, that at this time, in the autumn of 1592, Nash was the guest of Archbishop Whitgift at Croydon, whither the household had retired for fear of the plague, and that as the official antagonist of Martin Marprelate, he had to keep up such a character as would not disgrace his clerical employers.

A second reason why this "other," to whom Chettle apologises, cannot be Nash, is this. The person was evidently an anonymous writer, none of whose compositions had as yet been published; so Chettle, instead of referring to his books as showing his skill, only brings forward the witnesses of sundry gentlemen who "reported his facetious grace in writing." Now Nash, as I have shown, had already published a whole series of works. Shakspeare had published nothing, and his authorship of his plays was only known within a very narrow circle.

A third reason is, that Chettle had seen this man's "excellence in the quality he professed." The man professed some calling which obliged him to make a personal exhibition of himself—such as preaching, plouding, or acting. Shakspeare was an actor. I never heard that Nash was either actor, advocate, or preacher.

A fourth is this; Chettle, at the time of the publication of Greene's letter, was not acquainted with either of the two to whom he afterwards apologised. But he seems to have been acquainted with Nash. Greene reproves Nash for vexing scholars with bitter lines. Chettle in his apology protests that he has, all the time of his conversing with printing, hindered the bitter inveighing against scholars; and in 1596 he signs himself, in a letter to Nash, "your old compositor." It seems as if Chettle had set up some of Nash's satirical works, and had induced him

to mitigate their gall. The very title page of *Kind Heart's Dream* bears witness to the familiarity between Chettle and Piers Penniless or Nash.

In the fifth place, the gentlemen who reported to Chettle on the honesty and art of the "other," are much more likely to have been the patrons of the stage where Shakspeare acted, or the private friends among whom his Sonnets circulated, than the reverend circle of Archbishop Whitgift's family at Croydon, among whom Nash's patrons were then to be sought.

I do not claim very great weight for these last four arguments taken separately; but their converging conclusions go to reinforce the peremptory conclusion of the first argument, that the "other" (besides Marlowe) to whom Chettle apologised, was not Nash, but Shakspeare.

No doubt Mr Staunton has started a difficulty which deserved investigation, but investigation dissolves the mist which he has raised; and he has not established the faintest pretence for asking the New Shakspeare Society to refrain from publishing Chettle's *Kind Heart's Dream* as a book containing a manifest and indubitable allusion to Shakspeare.

### III. MARLOWE, GREENE, AND SHAKSPERE.

FROM the passage above it appears that Marlowe and Shakspeare, having been insulted in common by the publication, took prevailing action against it. Chettle says of them, that "because on the dead they could not be avenged, they wilfully forged in their conceits a living author; and after tossing it to and fro, no remedy but it must light on me." In this "tossing to and fro" it appears that at one time they fixed upon Nash as the author; he therefore protests that "it was all Greene's, not mine, nor Master Nash's, as some unjustly have affirmed."

Shakspeare and Marlowe thus acting together, and fixing upon Nash as their common enemy, is somewhat inconsistent with the prevailing idea which classes together Marlowe, Greene, Peele, Lodge, and Nash, as the confraternity of University wits, more or less in hostility to the interloper Shakspeare. The idea is founded on this letter of Greene's, which has been accepted without making allowances for the ingrained falsehood of the man. Greene gives us to understand that he and Marlowe were great friends; yet in addressing Marlowe he makes against him the vilest insinuations; and those which we can now read are little in comparison with those which the manuscript, probably, contained.

At the perusing of Greene's book, says Chettle, I "stroke out what then in conscience I thought he in some displeasure writ [concerning Marlowe], or, had it beene true, yet to publish it was intolerable."

Greene had alluded to Marlowe in previous writings, but always in the same spirit. In the Epistle prefixed to his *Perimedes* (1588) he tells how a play of his had been scorned "for that I could not make my verses jet upon the stage in tragical buskins, every word filling the mouth like the fa-burden of Bowbell, daring God out of heaven with that atheist Tamburlaine, or blaspheming with the mad priest of the sun." Marlowe, we know by Harvey's sonnets, was known by the name of Tamburlaine, just as Shakspeare was called by the name of his most popular character, and was written of by the Countess of Southampton, and by Sir Edwin Sandys, as Sir John Falstaff.<sup>1</sup>

Again, in his *Farewell to Folly*, 1591, Greene tells his University readers that his *Mourning Garment* had so ready a sale that the pedlar "found them too dear for his pack, and was fain to bargain for the life of Tamburlaine to wrap up his sweet powders in those unsavoury papers." And when he employed Nash, then just returned from a three years' absence, to criticize his contemporaries in the Epistle prefixed to *Menaphon* in 1589, he made Nash cite, not Marlowe, to whom common consent gave the palm, but Peele, as "the chief supporter of pleasure now living, the Atlas of poetry, and *primus verborum artifex*" with a "pregnant dexterity of wit and manifold variety of invention, wherein (*me judice*) he goeth a step beyond all that write."

The impression, then, that Greene seems to wish to make, that he had been an intimate friend and comrade of Marlowe, appears to be untrue. On the contrary, in the heyday of Marlowe's success in 1588-91, Greene was as jealous of him as he was of Shakspeare in 1592, and for a similar reason.

On the other hand, I know of no evidence, beyond Greene's malicious insinuation, of any unfriendly rivalry between Shakspeare and Marlowe. Marlowe, I believe, is one of the two contemporary poets to whom Shakspeare directly refers in any of his plays, and then his allusion is anything but unfriendly:—

Dead Shepherd, now I find thy saw of might,  
'Tis never loved that loved not at first sight.'

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<sup>1</sup> See Historical MSS. Commission, 3rd Report, p. 148, and Sir Edwin Sandys letters—a volume published in the middle of the 17th century; I have mislaid the reference. Of course I assume Marlowe to be the author of Tamburlaine; the indirect evidence is abundant; the chief direct evidence hitherto relied on has been proved to be a forgery.



That there was a rivalry may be surmised from this; that in 1593 they were both occupied in writing amatory poems; Shakspeare with his *Venus and Adonis*, Marlowe with his *Hero and Leander*. If this rivalry was friendly, whatever there may be in common between Marlowe and Shakspeare in the 3 parts of *Henry VI.* is not to be imputed, on Greene's word, to dishonest pilfering on the part of Shakspeare—a charge from which Chettle's apology ought to bear him free,—but rather to the co-operation not unusual among dramatists. Dyce has pointed out some verbal parallelisms of Marlowe's *Edward II.* with the 1st part of the *Contention*, and the *True Tragedy*. The very structure of *Edward II.* seems to bear witness to the counsel and aid of Shakspeare, just as the construction of Ben Jonson's *Sejanus*, as compared with his *Catiline*, may bear witness to the co-operation of some "second pen" whose contributions Ben erased, preferring "to put weaker, and no doubt less pleasing, of mine own, than to defraud so happy a genius of his right by my loathed usurpation." A play brought out by the same company (that of Lord Pembroke), and about the same time with *Edward II.*, is *The taming of a Shrew*. Marlowe's share in this only fails of proof through the abundance of internal evidence. There are whole passages of three and four lines each verbally transcribed from Marlowe's plays. That an author should so closely repeat himself is unusual; but that any one should so openly plagiarize from the works of a living or recently deceased writer universally known, and where detection would be certain, is next to incredible, except perhaps on the hypothesis that Shakspeare might have written the comedy, with its Marlowesque turgidity in the more serious parts, in order to show what manner of writer he would be, if, as had been said of him, he was a mere plagiarist from Marlowe; just as he seems to have published *Locrine* in 1595 (it was entered in the Stationers' books, July 20, 1594) "newly set forth, overseene and corrected by W. S.,"—an old play, written, according to Sir George Buck, by Charles Tylney, who was executed for treason in Sept. 1586,—with interpolations from Peele (pointed out by Dyce), and imitations from Greene, and perhaps from Marlowe. Either, it seems to me, we must accept the hypothesis that these two plays are an ironical answer to Greene's charges, showing the difference of the new school of Comedy and Tragedy from the old, which the author was accused of plagiarizing from; or else, if we think, as most of us do think, that Shakspeare must have had a hand in the old *Taming of a Shrew*, we must assign to him as a partner in writing it, either Marlowe himself, or one of his direct imitators and scholars.

Again, when Greene reproaches Marlowe as being a defender of liberty, which Greene chooses to designate as being the doctrine of Machiavelli, and Bame as atheism (see Bame on Marlowe's opinions, Harleian MS. 6853, fol. 320, printed by Dyce), it is doubtful whether by liberty he meant anything more than toleration, as understood by those whom the men in power chose to designate *politiques*; who considered that the State ought to act for the good of the State, not in the interests of the Church; and that useful citizens should not be burned or subjected to penal laws, because they happened to differ in religion from their sovereign, or the majority of their fellow-subjects. This is probably the tenet of Marlowe which Greene describes as teaching that it is "lawful, *fas et nefas*, to do anything that is beneficial." That is, that the general prosperity of the country ought to be aimed at, without attending to the bloodthirsty demands of Whitgift and the clergy, who held that the first thing was, *fas aut nefas*, to reduce the people to unity of belief, and to suppress with equal weight both Puritans and Papists. If this was the charge against Marlowe, it is no prejudice against the probability of an intimate sympathy between him and Shakspeare. That Marlowe was really as much opposed to Machiavelli's reputed teaching as Greene himself may be seen from his prologue to the *Jew of Malta*, where he confesses that Barabas is meant for the maligned philosopher.

Two of the matters I have advanced are facts that can hardly be controverted: the co-operation of Marlowe and Shakspeare in investigating the authorship of the *Groats-worth of Wit*, and Shakspeare's sympathetic mention of the dead poet in *As You Like It*. The rest is hypothesis, which I put forward for the purpose of further inquiry, not as propositions already proved.

R. SIMPSON.

GREENS,  
Groats-worth of Wit,  
bought with a Million of  
*Repentaunce.*

Describing the follie of youth, the falshoode of makeshift  
flatterers, the miserie of the negligent, and mischiefes  
of deceiuing Courtezans.

*Written before before his death, and published at his  
dying request.*

Fælicem fuisse infaustum.



LONDON,  
Printed by Thomas Creede, for Richard Oliue,  
dwelling in long long Lane, and are there  
to be solde. 1596.





THE PRINTER TO

*the Gentle Readers.*



Haue published heere, Gentlemen, for your mirth and benefit, *Greenes* groateswoorth of wit. With sundry of his pleasant discourses, ye haue beene before delighted: But now hath death giuen a period to his pen; onely this happened into my hands, which I haue published for your pleasures: Accept it fauourably because it was his last birth, and not least worth, in my poore opinion. But I will cease to praise that which is aboue my conceit, and leaue it felse to speake for it felse: and so abide your learned censuring.

*Yours, VV. VV.*



## TO THE GEN-

*tlemen Readers*

4 **G**entlemen. The Swan sings melodiously before death,  
that in all his life time vseth but a iarring sound.  
*Greene*, though able inough to write, yet deeper  
searched with sicknesse then euer heretofore, fendes you his  
Swanne-like song, for that he feares he shal neuer againe carroll  
8 to you woonted loue layes, neuer againe discover to you youths  
pleasures. How euer yet sicknesse, riot, incontinence, haue at  
once shown their extremitie, yet, if I recouer, you shall all see  
more fresh springs then euer sprang from me, directing you how  
12 to liue, yet not disswading you from loue. This is the last I  
haue writ; and I feare me, the last I shall write. And how euer  
I haue bene censured for some of my former bookes, yet Gen-  
tlemen I protest, they were as I had speciall information. But  
16 passing them, I commend this to your fauourable censures; and  
like an Embrion without shape, I feare me [t]will bee thrust into  
the world. If I liue to ende it, it shall be otherwise: if not,  
yet will I commend it to your courtesies, that you may as wel

be acquainted with my repentant death, as you haue lamented my carelesse course of life. But as *Nemo ante obitum felix*, so *Acta Exitus*<sup>1</sup> *probat* : Beseeching therefore to bee deemed hereof as I deferue, I leaue the worke to your likings, and leaue you 4 to your delights.

<sup>1</sup> Orig. *Exiitus*.









# GREENES

## Groatsworth of wit.

**I**N an Iland bound with the Ocean, there was sometime a Citie situated, made rich by Marchandize, and populous by long space; the name is not mentioned in the Antiquary, or else worne out by times Antiquitie: what it was, it greatly skilles not: but therein thus it happened. An old new made Gentleman herein dwelt, of no small credit, exceeding wealth, and large conscience: he had gathered from many to bestowe vpon one; for though he had two sonnes, he esteemed but one, that, being as himselfe, brought vp to be golde bondman, was therefore held heire apparent of his ill gathered goods.

The other was a Scholler, and married to a proper Gentlewoman, and therefore least regarded; for tis an olde said saw: To learning and law, ther's no greater foe, then they that nothing know: yet was not the father altogether vnlettered, for he had good experience in a *Nouerint*, and by the vniuersall tearmes therein contained, had driuen many gentlewomen to seeke vnknown countries: wise he was, for he boare office in his parish, and sate as formally in his fox-furd gowne, as if he had beene a very vpright dealing Burges: he was religious too, neuer without a booke at his belt, and a bolt in his mouth, ready to shoote through his sinfull neighbor

And Latin he had some where learned, which, though it were but little, yet was it profitable, for he had this Philosophie written in a ring, *Tu tibi cura*, which precept he curiously obserued, being in selfeloue so religious, as he held it no point of charitie to part with any thing, of which he, living, might make vse.

But as all mortall things are momentarie, and no certaintie can bee founde in this vncertaine world, so *Gorinius*, (for that shall be this Usurers name) after many a goutie pang that had pincht his exterior  
 4 parts, many a curse of the people that mounted into heauens presence, was at last with his last summons, by a deadly disease arrested; where-  
 against when hee had long contended, and was by Physicians giuen  
 ouer, hee cald his two sonnes before him: and willing to performe  
 8 the olde proverbe, *Qualis vita, finis Ita*, hee thus prepared himselfe, and admonished them.

My sonnes, (for so your mother saide ye were) and so I assure  
 my selfe one of you is, and of the other I wil make no doubt.  
 12 You see the time is come, which I thought would neuer haue  
 approached, and we must now be seperated, I feare neuer to meete  
 againe. This sixteene yeares daily haue I liued vexed with disease:  
 and might I liue sixteene more, how euer miserably, I should thinke  
 16 it happie. But death is relentlesse, and will not be intreated witlesse:  
 and knowes not what good my gold might do him: senselesse, &  
 hath no pleasure in the delightfull places I would offer him. In  
 breefe, I thinke he hath, with this foole my eldest sonne, beene brought  
 20 vp in the vniuersitie, and therefore accounts that in riches is no vertue.  
 But you my sonne, (laying then his hand on the yongers head) haue  
 thou another spirit: for without wealth, life is a death: what is gentry,  
 if wealth be wanting, but base seruile beggerie? Some comfort yet it  
 24 is vnto me, to see how many gallants sprung of noble parents, haue  
 croucht to *Gorinius* to haue sight of his gold: () gold, desired gold,  
 admired golde! and haue lost their patrimonies to *Gorinius*, because  
 they haue not returned by their day that adored creature! How  
 28 many schollers haue written rimes in *Gorinius* praise, and receiued  
 (after long capping and reuerence) a fixpeny reward in signe of my  
 superficiall liberalitie. Breecely, my yong *Lucanio*, how I haue bin  
 reuerent, thou seest, when honest men, I confesse, haue beene set  
 32 farre off: for to be rich is to be any thing, wise, honest, worshipfull,  
 or what not? I tell thee my sonne: when I came first to this Cittie,  
 my whole wardrop was onely a sute of white sheepe skins, my wealth  
 an olde Groate, my woonning, the wide world. At this instant ()  
 36 greefe to part with it) I haue in readie coyne threescore thousand

pound; in plate and Iewels, xv. thousand; in bonds and specialties, as much; in land, nine hundred pound by the yeere: all which, *Lucanio*, I bequeath to thee; onely I referue for *Roberto* thy well red brother, an olde Groate, (being the stocke I first began with,) wherewith I 4  
with him to buy a groatsworth of wit: for he in my life hath reprooued my maner of life, and therefore at my death, shall not bee contaminated with corrupt gaine.

Heere by the way, Gentlemen, must I disgresse to shew the reason 8  
of *Gorinius* present speech: *Roberto* being come from the Academie, to visit his father, there was a great feast provided: where for table talke, *Roberto*, knowing his father and most of the companie to be execrable vsurers, inuayed mightily against that abhorred vice, info- 12  
much that he vrged teares from diuers of their eyes, and compunction in some of their hearts. Dinner being past, hee comes to his father, requesting him to take no offence at his liberall speech, seeing what he had vttered was truth. Angrie sonne (saide he) no, by my hon- 16  
esty, (& that is somewhat, I may say to you) but vse it still, and if thou canst perswade any of my neighbours from lending vppon vsurie, I should haue the more customers: to which when *Roberto* would haue replied, he shut himselfe into his studie, and fell to telling ouer 20  
his money.

This was *Robertos* offence: nowe returne we to sicke *Gorinius*, who, after he had thus vnequally distributed his goods and possessions, began to aske his sons how they liked his bequestes: either seemed 24  
agreed, and *Roberto* vrged him with nothing more then repentance of his sin: loke to thine owne, said he, fond boy, and come my *Lucanio*, let me giue thee good counfel before my death: as for you, fir, your bookes are your counsellors, and therefore to them I bequeath 28  
you. Ah *Lucanio*, my onely comfort, because I hope thou wilt, as thy father, be a gatherer, let me blesse thee before I die. Multiply in wealth, my sonne, by anie meanes thou maist; onely flie Alchymie, for therein are more deceites then her beggerly Artistes haue wordes; 32  
and yet are the wretches more talkatiue then women. But my meaning is, thou shouldest not stand on conscience in causes of profite, but heape treasure vppon treasure, for the time of neede: yet seeme to be deuout, else shalt thou be held vile: frequent holy excercises, 36

grate companie, and aboue all, vse the conuerſation of yong Gentle-  
 men, who are ſo wedded to prodigalitie, that once in a quarter  
 neceſſity knocks at their chamber doores: profer them kindneſſe to  
 4 relieue their wants, but be ſure of good aſſurance: giue faire words  
 till dayes of payment come, and then vse my courſe, ſpare none: what  
 though they tell of conſcience, (as a number will talke) looke but  
 into the dealings of the world, & thou ſhalt ſee it is but idle words.  
 8 Seeſt thou not many periſh in the ſtreetes, and fall to theſt for neede,  
 whom ſmall ſuccor would releue: then where is conſcience, and why  
 art thou bound to vse it more then other men? Seeſt thou not daily  
 forgeries, periuries, oppreſſions, rackings of the poore, rayſing of  
 2 rents, inhauncing of duties, euen by them that ſhuld be all conſcience,  
 if they meant as they ſpeake: but *Lucanio*, if thou reade well this  
 booke (and with that hee reacht him *Machiauels* works at large), thou  
 ſhalt ſee what it is to be ſo ſoole-holy, as to make ſcruple of con-  
 16 ſcience, where profit preſents it ſelfe.

Besides, thou haſt an inſtance by thy threed-bare brother heere,  
 who, willing to do no wrong, hath loſt his childſ right: for who would  
 wiſh any thing to him, that knowes not how to vse it?

20 So much, *Lucanio*, for conſcience: and yet I knowe not whats the  
 reaſon, but ſomewhat ſtings mee inwardly when I ſpeake of it. I,  
 father, ſaid *Roberto*, it is the worme of conſcience, that vrgeſ you at  
 the laſt houre to remember your life, that eternall life may follow  
 24 your repentance. Out ſoole (ſaid this miſerable father) I ſeele it now,  
 it was onely a ſtitch. I will forward with my exhortation to *Lucanio*.  
 As I ſaide, my ſonne, make ſpoyle of yong gallants by inſinuating thy  
 ſelfe amongſt them; and be not mooued to think their Aunceſtors  
 28 were famous, but conſider thine were obſcure, and that thy father  
 was the firſt Gentleman of the name. *Lucanio*, thou art yet a  
 Bachelor, and ſo keepe thee, till thou meeete with one that is thy  
 equall, I meane in wealth: regard not beautie, it is but a baite to  
 32 entice thine neighbors cie: and the moſt faire are commonly moſt  
 fond: vse not too many familiars, for few prooue friends; and as eaſie  
 it is to weigh the wind, as to diue into the thoughts of worldly gloſers.

I tell thee, *Lucanio*, I haue ſeene foure ſcore winters beſides the odde  
 36 ſeaunen, yet ſaw I neuer him that I eſteemed as my friend, but gold,

that desired creature, whom I haue deerely loued, and found so firme a friend, as nothing, to me hauing it, hat hbeene wanting. No man but may thinke deerely of a true friend, and so doe I of it, laying it vnder sure locks, and lodging my heart therewith. 4

But now (Ah my *Lucanio*) now must I leaue it; and to thee I leaue it with this lesson, loue none but thy selfe, if thou wilt liue esteemed. So turning him to his study, where his chiefe treasure lay, he loud cried out in the wise mans words, *O mors quam amara*, O death how bitter is thy memorie to him that hath al pleasures in this life; and so with two or three lamentable groanes he left his life: and to make short worke, was by *Lucanio* his sonne enterd, as the custome is, with some solemnitie: But leauing him that hath left the world, 12 to him that<sup>1</sup> censureth of euery worldly man, passe we to his sons: and see how his long laied by store is by *Lucanio* looked into. The youth was of condition simple, shamesfast, and flexible to any counsaile, which *Roberto* perceiuing, and pondering how little was left to him, 16 grew into an inward contempt of his fathers vnequall legacie, and determinate resolution to worke *Lucanio* al possible iniurie: here-vpon, thus conuerting the sweetnesse of his studie to the sharpe thirst of reuenge, he (as Ennie is seldome idle) fought out fit companions 20 to effect his vnbrotherly resolution. Neither in such a case is ill companie farre to seeke, for the Sea hath scarce so [many] ieopardies, as populous Citties haue deceiuing Syrens, whose eies are Adamants, whose wor[d]es are witchcrafts, whose doores leade downe to death. With one 24 of these female Serpents *Roberto* comforts, and they conclude, what euer they compaffed, equally to share to their contentes. This match made, *Lucanio* was by his brother brought to the bush, where he had scarce pruned his wings, but hee was fast limed, and *Roberto* had what 28 he expected. But that we may keepe forme, you shall heare how it fortunied.

*Lucanio* being on a time very penfue, his brother brake with him in these tearmes: I wonder, *Lucanio*, why you are so disconsolate, 32 that want not any thing in the world that may worke your content. If wealth may delight a man, you are with that sufficiently furnisht: if credit may procure a man any comfort, your word, I knowe well, is

<sup>1</sup> Orig. yt.

as well accepted as any mans obligation : in this Citie are faire build-  
ings and pleasant gardens, and cause of solace ; of them I am assured  
you haue your choyse. Consider, brother, you are yong ; then plod not  
4 altogether in meditating on our fathers precepts : which, howsoeuer  
they fauoured of profit, were most vnfaulerly, to one of your yeeres  
applied. You must not thinke but certaine Marchants of this Citie  
expect your company, sundry Gentlemen desire your familiaritie, and  
8 by connerfing with such, you will be accounted a Gentleman : other-  
wise a peasant, if ye liue thus obscurely. Besides, which I had almost  
forgot, and then had all the rest beene nothing, you are a man by  
nature furnished with all exquisite proportion, worthy the loue of any  
12 courtly Ladie, be she neuer so amorous : you haue wealth to main-  
taine her, of women not little longed for : wordes to court her you  
shall not want, for my selfe will be your secretary. Brieflie, why  
stande I to distinguish abilitie in perticularities, when in one word it may  
16 bee sayde, which no man can gainesay, *Lucanio* lacketh nothing to  
delight a wife, nor any thing but a wife to delight him ? My young  
maister beeing thus clawde, and putt vp with his owne prayse, made  
no longer delay, but hauing on his holyday hose, he tricked himselfe  
20 vp, and like a fellowe that meant good sooth, hee clapped his Brother  
on the Shoulder, and sayde : Faith, Brother *Roberto*, and yee say the  
worde, lets go seeke a wife while it is hote, both of vs together, Ile pay  
well, and I dare turne you loose to say as well as anye of them all :  
24 well Ile doe my best, said *Roberto*, and since ye are so forward, lets  
goe nowe and trie our good fortune.

With this, forth they walke, and *Roberto* went directlie towardes  
the house where *Lamilia* (for so wee call the Curtezan) kept her  
28 Hospitall, which was in the Suburbes of the Cittie, pleasauntly seated,  
and made more delectable by a pleasaunt Garden, wherein it was  
scituate. No sooner come they within ken, but Mistresse *Lamilia*  
like a cunning angler made readie her chaunge of baytes, that shee  
32 might effect *Lucanios* bane : and to begin, shee discovered from her  
window her beauteous inticing face, and taking a lute in her hand  
that she might the rather allure, she sung this Sonnet<sup>1</sup> with a delicious  
voice.

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Sonnet.

## Lamilias Song.

- Fie fie on blind fancie,*  
*It hinders youths ioy :*  
*Faire virgins learne by me,* 4  
*To count loue a toy.*
- When Loue learned first the A B C of delight,*  
*And knew no figures, nor conceited phrase :*  
*He simplie gaue to due desert her right,* 8  
*He led not louers in darke winding wayes,*  
*He plainly wild to loue, or flattery answered no,*  
*But now who lifts to proue, shall find it nothing so :*  
*Fie fie then on fancie,* 12  
*It hinders youths ioy,*  
*Faire virgins learne by me,*  
*To count loue a toy.*
- For since he learnd to vse the Poets pen,* 16  
*He learnd likewise with smoothing words to faine,*  
*VVitching chaste eares with trothlesse tounes of men,*  
*And wronged faith with falshood and disdaine.*  
*He giues a promise now, anon he sweareth no,* 20  
*Who listeth for to proue, shall find his changings so :*  
*Fie fie then on fancie,*  
*It hinders youths<sup>1</sup> ioy,*  
*Faire virgins learne by me,* 24  
*To count loue a toy.*

While this painted sepulchre was shadowing her corrupting guilt, Hiena-like alluring to destruction, *Roberto* and *Lucanio* vnder the windowe, kept euen pace with euery stop of her instrument, but 28 especially my yong Ruffler, (that before time like a bird in a cage, had beene prentise for three liues, or one and twentie yeeres at least, to extreame Auarice, his deceased father) O twas a world to see how he sometime simperd it, struing to set a countenance on his turnd 32 face, that it might seeme of wainscot prooffe, to beholde her face without blushing : anone hee would stroake his bowbent-leg, as though he went to shoote loue arrows from his shins : then wipte his chin (for

<sup>1</sup> Orig. *youth*,

his beard was not yet grown) with a gold wrought handkercher, whence of purpose he let fall a handfull of angels. This golden showre was no sooner rained, but *Lamili* [*i*]a ceast her song, and *Roberto* (assuring 4 himsef the foole was caught) came to *Lucanio* (that floode now as one that had starde *Medusa* in the face) and awaked him from his amazement with these words: What, in a traunce, brother? whence springs these dumps? are yee amazed at this obieet? or long ye to 8 become lous subiect? Is there not difference betweene this delectable life, and the imprisonment you haue all your life hitherto endured? If the sight and hearing of this harmonious beautie work in you effects of wonder, what will the possession of so diuine an 12 essence, wherein beautie and Art dwell in their perfectest excellencie? Brother, said *Lucanio*, lets vse few words, and she be no more then a woman, I trust youle helpe mee to her! and if you doe, well, I say no more, but I am yours till death vs depart, and what is mine, shal 16 be yours, world without end, Amen.

*Roberto*, smiling at his simplenesse, helpt him to gather vp his dropt golde, and without any more circumstance led him to *Lamilias* house: for of such places it may be said as of hell,

20

*Noctes atque dies patet atri ianua ditis.*

So their doores are euer open to entice youth to destruction. They were no sooner entred, but *Lamilia* her selfe, like a second *Helen*, court like begins to salute *Roberto*, yet did her wandering eie glance 24 often at *Lucanio*: the effect of her entertainment consisted in these tearmes, that to her simple house Signor *Roberto* was welcome, and his brother the better welcome for your sake: albeit his good report, confirmed by his present demeaner, were of it selfe enough to giue 28 him deserued entertainment, in any place how honourable soeuer: mutuall thanks returned, they lead this prodigal childe into a Parlor garnished with goodly portratures of amiable personages: neere which an excellent consort of musicke began at their entrance to play. 32 *Lamilia*, seeing *Lucanio* shamefast, tooke him by the hand, and tenderly wringing him, vsed these words: Beleeue me, Gentleman, I am verie sorie that our rude enter[tain]ment is such, as no way may worke your content: for this I haue noted since your first entering, that



your countenance hath beene heauie, and the face being the glasse of the heart, assures me the same is not quiet : would ye wish any thing heere that might content you, say but the word, and assure ye of present deliuerance to effect your full delight. *Lucanio* being so farre 4 in loue, as he perswaded himselfe without her grant hee could not liue, had a good meaning to vtter his minde, but wanting fit wordes, hee stoode like a trewant that lackt a prompter, or a plaier, that being out of his part at his first entrance, is faine to haue the booke to 8 speake what he should performe. Which *Roberto* perceiuing, replied thus in his behalfe : Madame, the Sunnes brightnesse daileth the beholders eies ; the maiestie of Gods amazed humane men ; *Tullie*, Prince of Orators, once fainted, though his cause were good ; and he 12 that tamed monsters, stoode amated at beauties ornaments : Then blame not this yoong man though hee replied not, for he is blinded with the beautie of your funne-darkening eies, made mute with the celestiall organe of your voyce, and feare of that rich ambush of 16 amber colored darts, whose pointes are leuelde against his heart. Well, Signor *Roberto* saide thee, how euer you interpret their sharpe leuell, be sure they are not bent to doe him hurt ; and but that modestie blinds vs poore Maidens from vttering the inwarde sorrowe of our 20 mindes, perchance the cause of greefe is ours, how euer men do colour, for as I am a virgin, I protest, (and therewithall thee tainted her cheekes with a vermilion blush) I neuer sawe Gentleman in my life, in my eie, so gracious as is *Lucanio* ; onely that is my greefe, that 24 either I am despised, for that he scornes to speake, or else (which is my greater sorrow) I feare he cannot speake. Not speake, Gentlewoman, quoth *Lucanio* ? that were a ieast indeede ! yes, I thanke God I am sounde of winde and lim, onely my heart is not as it was woont : 28 but and you be as good as your word, that will soone be well, and so crauing ye of more acquaintance, in token of my plaine meaning receiue this diamond, which my olde father loued deerely : and with that deliuered her a Ring, wherein was a pointed<sup>1</sup> Diamond of won- 32 derfull worth. Which shee accepting with a lowe conge, returned him a filke Riband for a fauour, tyed with a truelouers knot, which he fastened vnder a faire Iewell on his Beuer felt. [1 Orig. a pointed a]

After this *Diamedis* & *Glauci permutatio*, my yoong master waxed 36

cranke, and the musicke continuing, was very forward in dauncing, to  
 shew his cunning: and so desiring them to play on a hornepipe, laid  
 on the pavement lustily with his leaden heeles, coruetting like a fleede  
 4 of *Signor Roccos* teaching, and wanted nothing but bells, to bee a  
 hobbyhorse in a morrice. Yet was he soothed in his folly; and what  
 euer he did, *Lamilia* counted excellent: her praise made him proude,  
 inso much, that if he had not beene intreated, hee would rather haue  
 8 died in his daunce, then left off to shew his mistresse delight. At last  
 reasonably perswaded, seeing the table furnished, he was contented to  
 cease, and settle himselfe to his victuals, on which (hauing before  
 labored) he fed lustily, especially of a Woodcocke pie, wherewith  
 12 *Lamilia* his caruer, plentifully plied him. Full dishes hauing furnisht  
 emptie stomackes, and *Lucanio* thereby got leisure to talke, falles to  
 discourse of his wealth, his lands, his bonds, his abilitie, and how him-  
 selfe, with all he had, was at Madame *Lamilias* disposing: desiring her  
 16 afore his brother, to tell him simply what she meant. *Lamilia*  
 replied: My sweet *Lucanio*, how I esteeme of thee, mine eyes doe  
 witnesse, that, like handmaidens, haue attended thy beautilous face euer  
 since I first beheld thee: yet seeing loue that lasteth gathereth by  
 20 degrees his liking, let this for that suffice: if I finde thee firme,  
*Lamilia* will be faithfull: if fleeting, she must of necessitie be infor-  
 tunate that, hauing neuer seene any whome before thee could affect,  
 thee shoulde bee of him iniuriously forsaken. Nay, saide *Lucanio*, I  
 24 dare say my brother here wil giue his word: for that I accept your  
 own, saide *Lamilia*, for with me your credit is better then your  
 brothers. *Roberto* brake off their amorous prattle with these  
 speeches: Sith either of you are of other so foud at the first sight, I  
 28 doubt not but time will make your loue more firme. Yet, madame  
*Lamilia*, although my brother and you be thus forward, some crosse  
 chaunce may come: for *Multa cadunt inter calicem supremaque labe*.  
 And for a warning to teach you both wit, Ile tell you an olde wiuers  
 32 tale.

Before ye go on with your tale (quoth mistresse *Lamilia*) let me  
 giue ye a caueat by the way, which shall be figured in a Fable.

*Lamiliaes Fable.*

He Foxe on a time came to visite the Gray, partly for kindered, cheefely for craft : and finding the hole emptie of all other companie, sauing onely one Badger, enquiring 4 the cause of his solitarinesse, he described the sodaine death of his dam and fire, with the rest of his comforts. The Foxe made a Friday face, counterfeiting sorrow : but concluding that deaths stroke was vneuitable, perswaded him to seeke some fit mate wherwith to 8 match. The Badger soone agreed, so forth they went, and in their way met with a wanton ewe straggling from the fold : the Foxe bad the Badger play the tall stripping, and strut on his tiptoes : for (quoth he) this ewe is lady of al these lands, and her brother cheefe belwea- 12 ther of fundrie flocks. To be short, by the Foxes perswasion there would be a perpetuall league, betweene her harmelesse kindred, and al other deuouring beafts, for that the Badger was to them all allied : seduced, shee yeilded : and the Foxe conducted them to the Badgers 16 habitation. Where, drawing her aside vnder color of exhortation, pulde out her throate to satisfie his greedie thirst. Here I should note, a yong whelp that viewed their walke, infourmed the shepheard of what hapned. They followed, and trained the Foxe and 20 Badger to the hole : the Foxe afore had craftily conuained himself away ; the shepheard found the Badger rauing for the ewes murther ; his lamentation being helde for counterfet, was by the sheapheards dog wearied. The Foxe escaped : the ewe was spoiled ; and euer since, 24 betweene the Badgers and the dogges hath continued a mortall enmitie : And now be aduised *Roberto* (quoth she) goe forward with your tale ; seeke not by flie insinuation to turne our mirth to sorrow. Go too *Lamilia* (quoth hee) you feare what I meane not, but how 28 euer ye take it, Ile forward with my tale.

*Robertoes Tale.*

IN the North parts there dwelt an old Squier, that had a yong daughter his heire ; who had (as I know, Madame 32 *Lamilia*, you haue had) many youthfull Gentlemen that long time sued to obtaine her loue. But she, knowing her owne perfection (as women are by nature proude), would not to any

of them vouchsafe fauour : insomuch that they, perceiuing her relent-  
 lesse, shewed themselues not altogether willeſſe, but left her to her  
 fortune, when they founde her frowardnesſe. At last it fortunēd  
 4 among other strangers, a Farmers sonne visited her fathers house : on  
 whom at the first sight shee was enamored, he likewise on hir.  
 Tokens of loue past betweene them, either acquainted others parents  
 of their choise, and they kindly gaue their consent. Short tale to  
 8 make, married they were, and great solemnitie was at the wedding  
 feast. A yong Gentleman, that had beene long a suter to her, vexing  
 that the sonne of a farmer should be so preferred, cast in his minde  
 by what meanes (to marre their merriment) he might steale away the  
 12 Bride. Hereupon he confers with an old beldam, called mother  
*Gunby*, dwelling thereby ; whose counsell hauing taken, he fell to his  
 practise, and proceeded thus. In the after noone, when dauncers  
 were very busie, he takes the Bride by the hand, and after a turne or  
 16 two, tels her in her eare, he had a secret to impart vnto her, appoint-  
 ing her in any wise, in the euening to find a time to confer with him :  
 she promised she would, and so they parted. Then goes he to the  
 bridegroom, and with protestations of entire affect, protests that the  
 20 great sorrow hee takes at that which he must viter, wheron depended  
 his especial credit, if it were knowne the matter by him should be  
 discouered. After the bridegroomes promise of secrecie, the gentle-  
 man tels him, that a friend of his receiued that morning from y  
 24 bride a letter, wherein she willed him with some sixteene horse to  
 awaite her comming at a Parke side, for that she detested him in  
 her heart as a base country hinde, with whom her father compelled  
 her to marrie. The bridegroome almost out of his wits, began to bite  
 28 his lippe. Nay, saith the Gentleman, if you will by me be aduised,  
 you shall saue her credit, win her by kindnes, and yet preuent her  
 wanton complot. As how, said the Bridegroom? Mary thus, said  
 the gentleman : In the euening (for till the guests be gone, she intends  
 32 not to gad) get you on horsebacke, and seeme to be of the companie  
 that attends her comning : I am appointed to bring her from the  
 house to the Parke, and from thence fetch a winding compasse  
 of a mile about, but to turne vnto olde mother *Gunbyes* house,  
 36 where her louer, my friend, abides : when she alights, I wil

conduct her to a chamber far from his lodging, but when the lights are out, and she expects her adulterous copesmate, your selfe (as reason is) shall prooue her bedfellow, where priuately you may reprove her, and in the morning earely returne home without 4 trouble. As for the gentleman, my friend, I will excuse her absence to him, by saying, shee mockt thee with her maide in stead of her selfe, whom when I knew at her lighting, I disdained to bring her vnto his presence. The Bridegroome gaue his hand it should be so. 8

Now by the way we must vnderstand, this mother *Gunby* had a daughter, who all that day fate heauily at home with a willow garland, for that the bridegroome (if he had dealt faithfully) should haue wedded her before any other. But men (*Lamilia*) are vnconstant; 12 many now a daies makes the match, or else the match is marde.

But to the matter: the bridegroome and the Gentleman thus agreed: he tooke his time, conferred with the bride, perswaded her that her husband (notwithstanding his faire shew at the marriage) had 16 sworne to his olde sweete heart, their neighbour *Gunbyes* daughter, to be that night her bedfellow: and if she would bring her father, his father, and other friends to the house at midnight, they should finde it so. 20

At this the yong gentlewoman inwardly vext to be by a peasant so abused, promised, if she sawe likelyhood of his slipping away, that then she would doe according as he directed.

All this thus sorting, the old womans daughter was trickly attired, 24 ready to furnish this pageant, for her old mother provided all things necessarie.

Well, Supper past, dauncing ended, all the guests would home; and the Bridegroome, pretending to bring some friend of his home, got 28 his horse, and to the Parke side he rode, and stayed with the horsemen that attended the Gentleman.

Anone came *Marian* like mistris Bride, and mounted behind the gentleman, away they poft, fetch their compasse, & at last alight at 32 an olde wiues house, where sodenly she is conuained to her chamber, & the bridegroome sent to keepe her company, where he had scarce deuised how to begin his exhortation, but the father of his bride knockt at the chamber doore. At which being somewhat amazed, 36

yet thinking to turne it to a ieast, fith his wife (as he thought) was in bed with him, hee opened the doore, saying: Father, you are heartily welcome, I wonder how you found vs out heere; this deuise  
 4 to remooue our selues, was with my wiues consent, that we might rest quietly without the Maids and Batchelers disturbing vs. But where is your wife, said that<sup>1</sup> gentleman? why, heere in bed, said he. I thought (quoth the other) my daughter had beene your wife, for sure  
 8 I am to day shee was giuen you in marriage. You are merrily disposed, said the Bridegroom: what, thinke you I haue another wife? I thinke but as you speake, quoth the gentleman, for my daughter is below, & you say your wife is in the bed. Below (said he) you are a  
 12 merie man, and with that, casting on a night gowne, he went downe, where, when he saw his wife, the gentleman his father, and a number of his friends assembled, he was so confounded, that how to behaue himfelfe he knew not; onely hee cried out that he was deceiued. At  
 16 this the olde woman arisēs, and making her selfe ignorant of al the whole matter, enquires the cause of that sodaine tumult. When she was tolde the new bridegroom was found in bed with her daughter, she exclaimed against so great an iniurie. *Marian* was called in  
 20 quorum: she iustified it was by his allurements: he, being condemned by al their consents, was iudged vnworthy to haue the gentlewoman vnto his wife, & compelled (for escaping of punishment) to marrie *Marian*: and the yong Gentleman (for his care in discouering the  
 24 farmers sonnes lewdnes) was recompensd with the Gentlewomans euer during loue.  
[<sup>1</sup> Orig. yt.

Quoth *Lamilia*, and what of this? Nay, nothing, saide *Roberto*, but that I haue told you the effects of sodaine loue: yet the best is,  
 28 my brother is a maidenly batcheler; and for your selfe, you haue not beene troubled with many futers. The fewer the better, said *Lucanio*. But brother, I con you little thanke for this tale; hereafter I pray you vse other table talke. Lets then end talk, quoth *Lamilia*, and you  
 32 (signor *Lucanio*) and I will goe to the Chessie. To Chessie, said he, what meane you by that? It is a game, said she, that the first danger is but a checke, the worst, the giuing of a mate. Wel, said *Roberto*, that game ye haue beene at alreadie then, for you checkt him first  
 36 with your beauty, & gaue your self for mate to him by your bountie.

That is wel taken, brother, said *Lucanio*, so haue we past our game at Chess. Wil ye play at tables then, said she? I cannot, quoth he, for I can goe no furdur with my game, if I be once taken. Will ye play then at cards? I, said he, if it be at one and thirtie. That fooles 4 game, said she? Weele all to hazard, said *Roberto*; and, brother, you shall make one for an houre or two. contented, quoth he. So to dice they went, and fortune so fauoured *Lucania*, that while they continued square play, he was no loofer. Anone cofonage came about, 8 and his Angels being double winged, flew cleane from before him. *Lamilia* being the winner, prepared a banquet; which finished, *Roberto* aduised his brother to depart home, and to furnish himselfe with more crowns, least he were outcrakt with new commers. 12

*Lucania*, loath to be out countenanant, followed his aduise, desiring to attend his returne, which he before had determined vnrequested: for as soone as his brothers backe was turned, *Roberto* begins to reckon with *Lamilia*, to bee a sharer, as well in the mony deceitfully woonne, 16 as in the Diamond so wilfully giuen. But she, *secundum mores meretricis*, iested thus with the scholler: Why *Roberto*, are you so well read, and yet shew your selfe so shallow witted, to deeme women so weake of conceit, that they see not into mens demerites. Suppose 20 (to make you my stale to catch the woodcocke your brother) that my tongue ouerrunning mine intent, I spake of liberal rewarde: but what I promised, there is the point; at least, what I part with, I will be well aduised. It may be you wil thus reason: Had not *Roberto* 24 trained *Lucanio* vnto *Lamilias* lure, *Lucanio* had not now beene *Lamilias* pray: therefore, sith by *Roberto* she possesseth her prize, *Roberto* merites an equall part. Monstrous absurd, if so you reason; as wel you may reason thus: *Lamilias* dog hath kilde her a deere, 28 therefore his mistris must make him a pastie. No, poore pennileffe Poet, thou art beguilde in me; and yet I wonder how thou couldest, thou hast beene so often beguilde. But it fareth with licentious men, as with the chased bore in the streame, who, being greatly refreshed 32 with swimming, neuer feeleth any smart vntill he perish, recurelesly wounded with his owne weapons. Reasonlesse *Roberto*, that hauing but a brokers place, asked a lenders reward. Faithlesse *Roberto*, that hast attempted to betray thy brother, irreliously forsaken thy wife, 36

deferuedly beene in thy fathers eie an abiect : thinkest thou *Lamilia* so loose, to comfort with one so lewd? No, hypocrite, the sweete Gentleman thy brother, I will till death loue; and thee, while I liue, 4 loath. This share *Lamilia* giues thee; other gettest thou none.

As *Roberto* would haue replied, *Lucanio* approched: to whom *Lamilia* discourst the whole deceit of his brother, & neuer rested intimating malicious arguments, till *Lucanio* vtterly refused *Roberto* 8 for his brother, and for euer forbad him of his house. And when he wold haue yeelded reasons, and formed excuse, *Lucanios* impatience (vrged by her importunate malice) forbad all reasoning with them that was reasonlesse, and so, giuing him Iacke Drums entertainment, 12 shut him out of doores: whom we will follow, and leaue *Lucanio* to the mercie of *Lamilia*. *Roberto*, in an extreame extatic, rent his haire, curst his destinie, blamed his trecherie, but most of all exclaimed against *Lamilia*, and in her against all enticing Curtizans, in these 16 tearmes.

*What meant the Poets to inueſtue verſe,  
To ſing Medeas ſhame, and Scillas pride,  
Calipſoes charmes, by which ſo many did?*  
20 *Onely for this, their vices they rehearſe,  
That curious wits which in this world conuerſe,  
May ſhun the dangers and enticing ſhoes,  
Of ſuch falſe Syrens, thoſe home-breeding ſors,*  
24 *That from their eies their venom do diſperſe.  
So ſoone kills not the Baſiliſke with ſight,  
The Vipers tooth is not ſo venomous,  
The Adders tung not halfe ſo dangerous,*  
28 *As they that beare the ſhadow of delight,  
Who chaine blinde youths in tramels of their haire,  
Till waſt bring woe, and ſorrow haſt deſpaire.*

With this he laide his head on his hand, and leant his elbow on the 32 ground, ſighing out ſadly,

*Heu patior telis vulnera facta meis !*

On the other ſide of the hedge ſate one that heard his ſorrow, who



getting ouer, came towards him, and brake off his passion. When he approached, he saluted *Roberto* in this sort :

Gentleman, quoth hee, (for so you seeme) I haue by chaunce heard you discourse some part of your greefe ; which appeareth to be more 4 then you will discouer, or I can conceipt. But if you vouchsafe such simple comfort as my abilitie will yeeld, assure your selfe, that I will endeouour to doe the best, that either may procure your profit, or bring you pleasure: the rather, for that I suppose you are a scholler ; 8 and pittie it is men of learning should liue in lacke.

*Roberto* wondring to heare such good words, for that this iron age affoordes few that esteeme of vertue, returned him thankfull gratulations, and (vrged by necessitie) vttered his present greefe, beseeching 12 his aduise how he might be employed. Why, easily, quoth hee, and greatly to your benefit: for men of my profession get by schollers their whole liuing. What is your profession, sayd *Roberto* ? Truly fir, said he, I am a player. A Player, quoth *Roberto*, I tooke you 16 rather for a gentleman of great liuing ; for if by outward habit men shuld be censured, I tell you, you woulde be taken for a substantiall man. So am I where I dwell (quoth the player) reputed able at my proper cost, to build a Windmill. What though the worlde once 20 went hard with mee, when I was faine to carrie my playing Fardle a footebacke ; *Tempora mutantur*: I know you know the meaning of it better then I, but I thus confter it, it is otherwise now ; for my very share in playing apparrell will not be solde for two hundred pounds. 24 Truly (said *Roberto*) it is strange, that you should so prosper in that vaine practise, for that it seemes to me your voyce is nothing gracious. Nay then, said the player, I mislike your iudgement: why, I am as famous for Delphrigus, and the king of Fairies, as euer was any of my 28 time. The twelue labors of *Hercules* haue I terribly thundred on the stage, and plaied three scenes of the deuill in the highway to heauen. Haue ye so (said *Roberto*?) then I pray you pardon me. Nay more (quoth the player) I can serue to make a prettie speech, for I was a 32 countrie Author, passing at a morrall, for it was I that pende the Morral of mans wit, the Dialogue of Diues, and for seauen yeeres space was absolute interpreter of the puppets. But now my Almanacke is out of date :

*The people make no estimation,  
Of Morralls teaching education.*

Was not this prettie for a plaine rime extempore? if ye will, ye  
4 shall haue more. Nay it is enough, said *Roberto*, but how meane  
you to vse mee? Why sir, in making playes, said the other, for  
which you shall be well paid, if you will take the paines.

*Roberto* perceiuing no remedie, thought best, to respect of his  
8 present necessity, to trie his wit, & went with him willingly: who  
lodged him at the townes end in a house of retails, where what hap-  
pened our Poet, you shall heereafter heare. There, by conuerfing  
with bad company, he grew *A malo in peius*, falling from one vice to  
12 another; and so, hauing found a vaine to finger crownes, he grew  
cranker then *Lucanio*, who by this time began to droope, being thus  
dealt withall by *Lamilia*. She, hauing bewitched him with her  
enticing wiles, caused him to consume in lesse then two yeares, that  
16 infinite treasure gathered by his father, with so many a poore mans  
curse. His lands sold, his iewels pawnd, his money wasted, he was  
casseerd by *Lamilia* that had coofened him of all. Then walked he  
like one of duke *Humfreys* Squires, in a threedbare cloake, his hose  
20 drawne out with his heeles, his shooes vnseamed, lest his feete should  
sweate with heate: now (as witlesse as he was) hee remembered his  
fathers words, his kindnes to his brother, his carelesnesse of himselfe.  
In this sorrow hee fate downe on pennilesse bench; where when  
24 *Opus* and *Vfus* told him by the chimes in his stomacke, it was time  
to fall vnto meate, he was faine with the *Camelion* to feed vpon the  
aire, & make patience his best repast.

While he was at his feast, *Lamilia* came flaunting by, garnished  
28 with the iewels whereof she beguiled him; which sight serued to  
close his stomacke after his cold cheere. *Roberto* hearing of his  
brothers beggerie, albeit he had little remorse of his miserable state,  
yet did he seeke him out, to vse him as a propertie, whereby *Lucanio*  
32 was somewhat provided for. But being of simple nature, hee serued  
but for a blocke to whet *Roberto*s wit on: which the poore foole  
perceiuing, he forsooke all other hopes of life, and fell to be a  
notorious Pandar, in which detested course hee continued till death.  
36 But *Roberto*, nowe famozed for an Arch-plaimaking-poet, his pursie

like the sea fomtime fweld, anon like the same sea fell to a low ebbe ; yet feldom he wanted, his labors were so well esteemed. Marry, this rule he kept, what euer he fingerd aforehand, was the certaine meanes to vnbinde a bargaine ; and being asked why he so sleightly dealt with 4 them that did him good ? It becomes me, fath hee, to be contrarie to the worlde : for commonly when vulgar men receiue earnest, they doe performe ; when I am paid any thing afore-hand, I breake my promise. He had shift of lodgings, where in euery place his Hostesse 8 writ vp the wofull remembrance of him, his laundresse, and his boy ; for they were euer his in houghold, beside retainers in sundry other places. His companie were lightly the lewdest persons in the land, apt for pilferie, periurie, forgerie, or any villainie. Of these, hee knew 12 the casts to cog at Cards, coosin at Dice ; by these, he learned the legerdemaines of nips, foystes, connicatchers, crosbyters, lifts, high Lawyers, and all the rabble of that vncleane generation of vipers : and pithily could he paint out their whole courses of craft : So cunning 16 he was in all crafts, as nothing rested in him almost but craftinesse. How often the Gentlewoman his wife laboured vainely to recall him, is lamentable to note : but as one giuen ouer to all lewdnes, he communicated her sorrowfull lines among his loofe truls, that iested at 20 her bootelesse laments. If he could any way get credite on scores, he would then brag his creditors carried stones, comparing euerie round circle to a groning O, procured by a painfull burden. The shamefull ende of fundry his consorts, deseruedly punished for their amisse, 24 wrought no compunction in his heart : of which one, brother to a Brothell he kept, was trust vnder a tree as round [as] a Ball.

To some of his swearing companions thus it happened : A crue of them sitting in a Tauerne carowfing, it fortun'd an honest Gentleman, 28 and his friend, to enter their roome : some of them being acquainted with him, in their domineering drunken vaine, would haue no nay, but downe he must needs fitte with them ; beeing placed, no remedie there was, but he must needs keepe euen compasse with their vn- 32 seemely carowfing. Which he refusing, they fell from high wordes to sound strokes, so that with much adoe the Gentleman faued his owne, and shifted from their company. Being gone, one of these tiplers forsooth lackt a gold Ring, the other sware they see the Gentleman 36

take it from his hande. Upon this the Gentleman was indited before a Iudge: these honest men are depofed: whose wifedome, weighing the time of the braule, gaue light to the Iury, what power wine-  
 4 washing poyfon had: they, according vnto confcience, found the Gentleman not guiltie, and God releafed by that verdit the innocent.

With his accufers thus it fared: One of them for murther was worthily executed: the other neuer fince prospered: the third,  
 8 fitting not long after vpon a luftie horfe, the beaft fuddenly died vnder him: God amend the man.

*Roberto*, euery day acquainted with these examples, was notwithstanding nothing bettered, but rather hardened in wickedneffe. At  
 12 last was that place iuftified, God warneth men by dreams and visions in the night, and by knowne examples in the day; but if he returne not, hee comes vpon him with iudgement that fhall bee felt. For now, when the number of deceites caufed *Roberto* bee hatefull almost  
 16 to all men, his immeafurable drinking had made him the perfect Image of the dropfie, and the loathsome scourge of Luft tyrannized in his bones: liuing in extreame pouerty, and hauing nothing to pay but chalke, which now his Hoft accepted not for currant, this miser-  
 20 able man lay comfortleffely languifhing, hauing but one groat left (the iuft proportion of his fathers Legacie) which looking on, he cried: O now it is too late, too late to buy witte with thee: and therefore will I fee if I can fell to carelefse youth what I negligently forgot to buy.  
 24 Heere (Gentlemen) breake I off *Robertos* fpeech; whose life in most parts agreeing with mine, found one selfe punishment as I haue doone. Heereafter fuppofe me the faid *Roberto*, and I will goe on with that hee promifed: *Greene* will fend you new<sup>1</sup> his groa[i]fworth  
 28 of wit, that neuer fhewed a mites-worth in his life: and though no man now be by, to doe me good, yet ere I die, I will by my repentance iudeuour to doe all men good.

[<sup>1</sup> ? now]

*Deceiuing world, that with alluring toys,  
 32 Haft made my life the fubieft of thy fcorne:  
 And fcorneft now to lend thy fading ioyes,  
 To lengthen my life, whom friends haue left forlorne.  
 How well are they that die ere they be borne,  
 36 And neuer fee thy sleights, which few men fhun,  
 Till vnawares they helpleffe are vndon.*

*Oft haue I sung of loue, and of his fire ;  
But now I finde that Poet was aduixde,  
Which made full feasts increasers of desire,  
And prooues weake loue was with the poore despixde. 4  
For when the life with foode is not suffixde,  
What thoughts of loue, what motion of delight,  
What pleasance, can proceede from such a wight ?*

*VVitnesse my want, the murderer of my wit ; 8  
My rauisht sense, of woonted furie rest,  
VVants such conceit, as should in Poims sit.  
Set downe the sorrow wherein I am left :  
But therefore haue high heauens their gifts bereft : 12  
Because so long they lent them me to vse,  
And I so long their bountie did abuse.*

*O that a yeare were granted me to liue,  
And for that yeare my former wits restorde : 16  
VVhat rules of life, what counsell would I giue ?  
How should my sinne with sorrow be deplorde<sup>1</sup> ?  
But I must die of euery man abhorde. [1 Orig. then deplore]  
Time loosely spent will not againe be woonne, 20  
My time is loosely spent, and I vndone.*

*O horrenda fames, how terrible are thy assautes : but Vermis con-*  
*scientiæ, more wounding are thy stings. Ah Gentlemen, that liue to 24*  
*reade my broken and confused lines, looke not I should (as I was*  
*woont) delight you with vaine fantasies, but gather my follies alto-*  
*gether, and, as you would deale with so many parricides, cast them*  
*into the fire : call them Telegones, for now they kill their father, and 28*  
*euerie lewd line in them written, is a deep piercing wound to my*  
*heart ; euery idle houre spent by any in reading them, brings a*  
*million of sorrowes to my soule. O that the teares of a miserable*  
*man (for neuer any man was yet more miserable) might wash their 32*  
*memorie out with my death ; and that those works with me together*  
*might be interd. But sith they cannot, let this my last worke witnes*  
*against them with me, how I detest them. Blacke is the remem-*

brance of my blacke works, blacker then night, blacker then death,  
blacker then hell.

Learne wit by my repentance (Gentlemen) and let these fewe rules  
4 following be regarded in your liues.

1 First, in all your actions set God before your eies; for the feare of  
the Lord is the beginning of wisedome: Let his word be a lanterne  
to your feete, and a light vnto your paths, then shall you stand as  
8 firme rocks, and not be mocked.

2 Beware of looking backe, for God will not be mocked; of him  
that hath receiued much, much shall be demanded.

3 If thou be single, and canst abstaine, turne thy eies from vanitie,  
12 for there is a kinde of women bearing the faces of Angels, but the  
hearts of Deuils, able to intrap the elect, if it were possible.

4 If thou be m[a]rried, forsake not the wife of thy youth to follow  
strange flesh; for whoremongers and adulterers the Lord will iudge.  
16 The doore of a Harlot leadeth downe to death, and in her lips there  
dwels destruction; her face is decked with odors, but shee bringeth  
a man to a morfell of bread and nakednesse: of which my selfe am  
instance.

20 5 If thou be left rich, remember those that want; and so deale,  
that by thy wilfulnes thy self want not: Let not Tauerners and  
Vsuallers be thy Executors; for they will bring thee to a dishon-  
orable graue.

24 6 Oppresse no man, for the crie of the wronged ascendeth to the  
eares of the Lord: neither delight to encrease by Vsurie, least thou  
loose thy habitation in the euerlasting Tabernacle.

7 Beware of building thy house to thy neighbours hurt; for the  
28 stones will crie to the timber; We were laide together in bloud: and  
those that so erect houses, calling them by their names, shall lie in  
the graue like sheepe, and death shall gnaw vpon their soules.

8 If thou be poore, be also patient, and strue not to grow rich  
32 by indirect meanes; for goods so gotten shall vanish away like  
smoke.

9 If thou be a father, maister, or teacher, ioyne good examples  
with good counsaile; else little auaille precepts, where life is dif-  
36 ferent.

10 If thou be a sonne or seruant, despise not reproofe ; for though correction be bitter at the first, it bringeth pleasure in the end.

Had I regarded the first of these rules, or beene obedient at the last ; I had not now at my last ende, beene left thus desolate. But 4 now, though to my selfe I giue *Consilium post facta* ; yet to others they may serue for timely precepts. And therefore (while life giues leaue) will send warning to my olde consorts, which haue liued as loosely as my selfe ; albeit weakenesse will scarce suffer me to write, 8 yet to my fellowe Schollers about this Cittie, will I direct these few insuing lines.

*To those Gentlemen, his Quondam acquaintance,  
that spend their wits in making Plaies, R. G.  
wisheth a better exercise, and wisdom  
to preuent his extremities.*

12



IF wofull experience may mooue you (Gentlemen) to beware, or vnheard of wretchednes intreate you to take 16 heed : I doubt not but you will looke backe with sorrow on your time past, and endeuour with repentance to spend that which is to come. Wonder not, (for with thee wil I first begin) thou famous gracer of Tragedians, that *Greene*, who hath said with 20 thee, like the foole in his heart, There is no God, should now giue glorie vnto his greatnesse : for, penetrating is his power, his hand lies heauie vpon me, he hath spoken vnto me with a voice of thunder, and I haue left, he is a God that can punish enimies. Why should 24 thy excellent wit, his gift, be so blinded, that thou shouldst giue no glory to the giuer ? Is it pestilent Machiulian pollicie that thou hast studied ? O punish follie ! What are his rules but meere confused mockeries, able to extirpate in small time, the generation of mankinde. 28 For if *Sic volo, sic iubeo*, hold in those that are able to command : and if it be lawfull *Fas & nefas* to doe any thing that is beneficiall ; onely Tyrants should possesse the earth ; and they, struing to exceede in tyranny, should each to other bee a slaughter man ; till the mightiest 32 outliuing all, one stroke were left for Death, that in one age mans life should ende. The brother of this Diabolicall Atheisme is dead, and in his life had neuer the felicitie he aimed at : but as he began

in craft, liued in feare, and ended in despaire. *Quum inscrutabilia sunt Dei iudicia?* This murderer of many brethren, had his conscience feared like *Caine*: this betrayer of him that gaue his life for 4 him, inherited the portion of *Iudas*: this Apostata perished as ill as *Iulian*: and wilt thou, my friend, be his Disciple? Looke vnto me, by him perswaded to that libertie, and thou shalt finde it an infernall bondage. I knowe the least of my demerits merit this miserable 8 death; but wilfull struing against knowne truth, exceedeth al the terrors of my soule. Defer not (with me) till this last point of extremitie; for little knowest thou how in the end thou shalt be visited.

With thee I ioyne young *Iuuenall*, that byting Satyrift, that lastlie 12 with mee together writ a Comedie. Sweete boy, might I aduise thee, be aduised, and get not many enemies by bitter words: inueigh against vaine men, for thou canst do it, no man better, no man so wel: thou hast a libertie to reprocue all, and name none; for one 16 being spoken to, al are offended; none being blamed, no man is iniured. Stop shallow water still running, it will rage; tread on a worme, and it will turne: then blame not schollers vexed with sharpe lines, if they reprocue thy too much libertie of reprocue.

20 And thou no lesse deseruing then the other two, in some things rarer, in nothing inferiour; driuen (as my selfe) to extreame shifts; a little haue I to say to thee: and were it not an idolatrous oth, I would sweare by sweet *S. George*, thou art vnworthie better hap, sith thou 24 dependest on so meane a stay. Base minded men al three of you, if by my miserie ye be not warned: for vnto none of you (like me) sought those burres to cleaue: those Puppits (I meane) that speake from our mouths, those Anticks garnisht in our colours. Is it not 28 strange that I, to whom they al haue beene beholding: is it not like that you, to whome they all haue beene beholding, shall (were ye in that case that I am now) be both at once of them forsaken? Yes, trust them not: for there is an vpstart Crow, beautified with our 32 feathers, that with his *Tygers heart wrapt in a Players hide*, supposeth he is as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of you: and being an absolute *Iohannes fac totum*, is in his owne conceit the onely Shake-scene in a countrie. O that I might intreate your rare 36 wits to be employed in more profitable courses: & let these Apes imitate your past excellence, and neuer more acquaint them with your



admired inuentions. I know the best husband of you all will neuer proue an Vfuror, and the kindest of them all wil neuer prooue a kinde nurse: yet, whilst you may, seeke you better Maisters; for it is pittie men of such rare wits, should be subiect to the pleasures of such rude 4 groomes.

In this I might insert two more, that both haue writ against these buckram Gentlemen: but let their owne works serue to witnesse against their owne wickednesse, if they perseuer to maintaine any 8 more such peasants. For other new commers, I leaue them to the mercie of these painted monsters, who (I doubt not) will driue the best minded to despise them: for the rest, if skills not though they make a ieast at them.

12

But now returne I againe to you three,<sup>1</sup> knowing my miserie is to you no news: and let me heartily intreate you to bee warned by my harmes. Delight not (as I haue done) in irreligious oaths; for, from the blasphemers house, a curse shall not depart. Despise drunkennes, 16 which wasteth the wit, and maketh<sup>2</sup> men all equal vnto beasts. Flie lust, as the deathsmen of the soule, and defile not the Temple of the holy ghost. Abhorre those Epicures, whose loose life hath made religion lothsome to your eares: and when they sooth you with 20 tearmes of Maistership, remember *Robert Greene*, whome they haue often so flattered, perishes now for want of comfort. Remember, gentlemen, your liues are like so many lighted Tapers, that are with care deliuered to all of you to maintaine: these with wind-pufft wrath 24 may be extinguisht, which drunkennes put out, which negligence let fall: for mans time of it selfe is not so short, but it is more shortened by sin. The fire of my light is now at the last snuffe, and the want of wherewith to sustaine it; there is no substance left for life to feede 28 on. Trust not then (I beseech yee) to such weake staies: for they are as changeable in minde, as in many attires. Well, my hand is tired, and I am forst to leaue where I would begin: for a whole booke cannot containe their wrongs, which I am forst to knit vp in 32 some few lines of words.

*Desirous that you should liue, though<sup>3</sup>  
himselſe be dying.*

*Robert Greene.*

36

<sup>1</sup> *Orig.* rhree.

<sup>2</sup> *Orig.* making.

<sup>3</sup> *Orig.* though.

Now to all men I bid farewell in this sort, with this conceited Fable of the olde Comedian *Aefope*.

4 **A**N Ant and a Grashopper walking together on a greene, the one carelessly skipping, the other carefully prying what winters prouision was scattered in the way: the Grashopper scorning (as wantons wil) this needeleffe thrift (as he tearmed it), reprooued him thus :

8     *The greedie miser thirsteth still for gaine ;  
His thrift is theft, his weale works others woe :  
That foole is fond, which will in caues remaine,  
When mongst faire sweetes he may at pleasure goe.*

12 To this the Ant, perceiuing the Grashoppers meaning, quickly replied :

16     *The thriftie husband spares what vnthrifts spends ;  
His thrift no theft, for dangers to provide :  
Trust to thy selfe, small hope in want yeeld friendes;  
A caue is better then the defarts wide.*

In short time these two parted, the one to his pleasure, the other to his labour. Anon Haruest grewe on, and rest from the Grashopper  
20 his woonted moysture. Then weakely skips he to the medows brinks : where till fell winter he abode. But stormes continually powring, hee went for succour to the Ant his olde acquaintance, to whome he had scarce discouered his estate, but the little worme made this  
24 replee.

28     *Pack hence (quoth he) thou idle laxie worme ;  
My house doth harbour no vnthrifitie mates :  
Thou scornedst to toile, and now thou feelst the storme,  
And starust for foode while I am fed with cates.  
Use no intreats, I will relentlesse rest,  
For toying labour hates an idle guest.*

The Grashopper foodlesse, helpelesse, and strengthlesse, got into  
32 the next brooke, and in the yeelding sand digde himselfe a pit: by which likewise he ingraued this Epitaph.

*When Springs greene prime arrayd me with delight,  
And euery power, with youthfull vigor fild,  
Gaue strength to worke what euer fancie wild :  
I neuer feard the force of winters spight.* 4

*When first I saw the sunne the day begin,  
And drie the mornings teares from hearbs and grasse ;  
I little thought his chearefull light would passe,  
Till vgly night with darknes enterd in : 8  
And then day lost I mournd, spring past I uaild,  
But neither teares for this or that auaild.*

*Then too too late I praïsd the Emmets paine,  
That fought in spring a harbour gainst the heate : 12  
And in the haruest gathered winters meate,  
Perceiuing famine, frosts, and stormie raine.*

*My wretched end may warne Greene springing youth  
To vse delights, as toyes that will deceiue, 16  
And scorne the world before the world them leaue :  
For all worlds trust, is ruine without ruth.  
Then blest are they, that, like the toying Ant,  
Prouide in time gainst winters wofull want. 20*

With this the grasshopper, yeelding to the weathers extremit[ie], died comfortlesse without remedie. Like him, my selfe : like me, shall al that trust to friends or times inconstancie. Now faint I of my last infirmitie, beseeching them that shal burie my bodie, to publish this 24 last farewell, written with my wretched hand.

*Fœlicem fuisse infaustum.*

*A letter written to his wife, found with this  
booke after his death. 28*



He remembrance of many wrongs offered thee, and thy vnreprooued vertues, adde greater sorrow to my miserable state, then I can vtter, or thou conceiue. Neither is it lessened by consideration of thy absēce (though shame 32

would let me hardly beholde thy face) but exceedingly aggrauated,  
 for that I cannot (as I ought) to thy owne selfe reconcile my selfe,  
 that thou mightest witnesse my inward woe at this instant, that haue  
 4 made thee a wofull wife for so long a time. But equal heauen hath  
 denied that comfort, giuing at my last neede, like succour as I haue  
 fought all my life: being in this extremitie as voide of helpe, as thou  
 hast beene of hope. Reason would, that after so long waste, I should  
 8 not send thee a childe to bring thee greater charge: but consider, he  
 is the fruit of thy wombe, in whose face regard not the fathers faults  
 so much as thy owne perfections. He is yet Greene, and may grow  
 straight, if he be carefully tended: otherwise, apt enough (I feare  
 12 me) to follow his fathers folly. That I haue offended thee highly, I  
 knowe; that thou canst forget my iniuries, I hardly beleue: yet per-  
 swade I my selfe, if thou saw my wretched estate, thou couldest not  
 but lament it: nay certainly I knowe thou wouldest. Al my wrongs  
 16 muster themselues about me, euery euill at once plagues me. For  
 my contempt of God, I am contemned of men: for my swearing  
 and forswearing, no man will beleue me: for my gluttony, I suffer  
 hunger: for my drunkenneffe, thirst: for my adulterie, vlcrous  
 20 sores. Thus God hath cast me downe, that I might be humbled:  
 and punished me, for exanple of others sinne: and although he suffers  
 me in this world to perish without succor, yet trust I in the  
 world to come to finde mercie, by the merits of my  
 24 Sauour, to whome I commend thee,  
 and commit my soule.

*Thy repentant husband for his dis-  
 loyalty, Robert Greene.*

# KIND-HARTS DREAME.

Containing five Apparitions, vwith their  
Inuectiues against abuses rainging.

*Deliuered by seuerall Ghosts vnto him to  
be publisht, after Piers Penillesse Post  
had refused the carriage.*

*Inuita Inuidiæ.*

by H. C.



Imprinted at London for William Wright.





## To the Gentlemen Readers.

**T***hath beene a custome, Gentle men, (in my mind commendable) among former Authors (whose workes are no lesse beautified with eloquente phrase, than garnished with excellent example) to begin an exordium to the Readers of their time: much more conuenient I take it, should the writers in these daies (wherein that grauitie of enditing by the elder excercised, is not obseru'd, nor that modest decorum kept, which they continued) submit their labours to the fauourable censures of their learned ouerseers. For seeing nothing can be said, that hath not been before said, the singularity of some mens conceits, (otherwayes excellent well deseruing) are no more to be soothed, than the peremptorie poesies of two very sufficient Translators commended. To come in print is not to seeke praise, but to craue pardon: I am vrgd to the one; and bold to begge the other: he that offendes, being forst, is more excusable than the wilfull faultie; though both be guilty, there is difference in the guilt. To obserue custome, and auoid as I may, cauill, opposing your fauours against my feare, I le shew reason for my present writing, and after proceed to sue for pardon. About three moneths sincc died M. Robert Greene, leauing many papers in sundry Booke sellers hands, among other his Groatsworth of wit, in which a letter written to diuers play-makers, is offensively by*

one or two of them taken; and because on the dead they cannot be  
auenged, they wilfully forge in their conceites a liuing Author :  
and after tossing it two and fro, no remedy, but it must light on  
4 me. How I haue all the time of my conuersing in printing  
hindred the bitter inueying against schollers, it hath been very  
well knowne; and how in that I dealt, I can sufficiently prooue.  
With neither of them that take offence was I acquainted, and  
8 with one of them I care not if I neuer be: The other, whome at  
that time I did not so much spare, as since I wish I had, for that  
as I haue moderated the heate of liuing writers, and might haue  
vsde my owne discretion (especially in such a case) the Author  
12 beeing dead, that I did not, I am as sory as if the originall  
fault had beene my fault, because my selfe haue seene his de-  
meanor no lesse ciuill, than he exelent in the qualitie he professes :  
Besides, diuers of worship haue reported his vprightnes of  
16 dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in  
writting, that aprooues his Art. For the first, whose learning I  
reuerence, and at the perusing of Greenes Booke, stroke out what  
then in conscience I thought he in some displeasure writ : or had  
20 it beene true, yet to publish it, was intollerable: him I would  
wish to vse me no worse than I deserue. I had onely in the copy  
this share : it was il written, as sometime Greenes hand was none  
of the best; licensd it must be, ere it could bee printed, which could  
24 neuer be if it might not be read. To be breife, I writ it ouer; and  
as neare as I could, followed the copy; onely in that letter I put  
something out, but in the whole booke not a worde in; for I protest  
it was all Greenes, not mine nor Maister Nashes, as some  
28 vniustly haue affirmed. Neither was he the writer of an Epistle



*to the second part of Gerileon, though by the workemans error  
T. N. were set to the end: that I confesse to be mine, and repent  
it not.*

*Thus Gentlemen, hauing noted the priuate causes that made 4  
me nominate my selfe in print; being aswell to purge Master  
Nashe of that he did not, as to iustifie what I did, and withall  
to confirme what M. Greene did: I beseech yee accept the pub-  
like cause, which is both the desire of your delight, and common 8  
benefite: for though the toye bee shadowed vnder the Title of  
Kind-hearts Dreame, it discouers the false hearts of diuers that  
wake to commit mischiefe. Had not the former reasons been, it  
had come forth without a father: and then shuld I haue had no 12  
cause to feare offending, or reason to sue for fauour. Now am  
I in doubt of the one, though I hope of the other; which if I  
obtaine, you shall bind me hereafter to bee silent, till I can present  
yee with some thing more acceptable.*

16

Henrie Chettle.

[*Note.* The head- and tail-pieces, and big initials, in these reprints, are not like those of the originals. The stops are partly modernised.—F.]





*Kind-hartes* Dedication of his dreame, to all  
the pleasant conceited vvhersoever.



Entlemen and good-fellowes, (whose kindnes hauing chris-  
tened mee with the name of Kind-heart, bindes me in 4  
all kind course I can to deserue the continuance of  
your loue) let it not seeme strange (I beseech ye) that he that  
all daies of his life hath bene famous for drawing teeth, should  
now in drooping age hazard contemptible infamie by drawing him- 8  
selfe into print. For such is the folly of this age, so witlesse, so  
audacious, that there are scarce so manye pedlers brag themselues to  
be printers because they haue a bundel of ballads in their packe, as  
there be idiots that thinke themselues Artists, because they can English 12  
an obligation, or write a true staffe to the tune of fortune. This folly  
raging vniuersally, hath infired me, to write the remembrance of  
fundry of my deceased friends, personages not altogether obscure, for  
then were my subiect base, nor yet of any honourable carriage, for my 16  
stile is rude and bad: and to such as I it belongs not to iest with  
Gods. Kind-hart would haue his companions esteeme of Estates-as  
starres, on whome meane men maye looke, but not ouer-looke. I  
haue heard of an eloquent Orator, that trimly furnished with warres 20  
abiliments, had on his shield this *Motto, Bona fortuna*: yet at the first  
meeting of the enemy fled with out fight. For which being re-  
prooued, he replied: If I haue saued my selfe in this battell by flight,

I shal liue to chafe the enemy in the next. So Gentlemen fares it with mee: If enuious misconsterers arme themselues against my simple meaning, and wrest euery iest to a wrong sense, I thinke it policy to  
4 fly at the first fight, till I gather fresh forces to repress their folly. Neither can they, what euer they be, deale hardly with Kind-hart, for he onely deliuers his dreame, with euery Apparition, simply as it was vttered. Its fond for them to fight against ghosts: its fearefull for  
8 me to hide an Apparition: by concealing it I might doe my selfe harme, and them no good; by reuealing it, ease my hart, and doe no honest men hurt: for the rest (although I would not willing[ly] moue the meanest) they must beare as I doe, or mend it as they may. Well,  
12 leaft ye deeme all my dreame but an Epistle, I will proceed to that without any further circumstance.



## *The Dreame.*

**S**itting alone not long since, not far from *Finburie*, in a Taphouse of Antiquity, attending the comming of such companions as might wash care away with carowing: 4  
Sleepe, the attendant vpon a distempred bodies, bereft the funnes light by couering mine eies with her sable mantle, and left me in nights shade, though the daies eie shinde; so powerfull was my receiued potion, so heauie my passion: whence (by my hostiffe care) 8  
being remoued to a pleasant parlor, the windowes opening to the East, I was laid softly on a downe bed, and couered with equall furniture; where, how long I slept quietly, I am not well assured, but in the time I intended to rest, I was thus by visible apparitions disturbd. 12

First, after a harsh and confused sound, it seemed there entered<sup>1</sup> at once fise personages, seuerally attired, and diuersly qualified, three bearing instruments, their fauours pleasant; two appearing to be Artists, their countenances reuerend. 16

The first of the first three was an od old fellow, low of stature, his head was couered with a round cap, his body with a side skirted tawney coate, his legs and feete trust vppe in leather buskins, his gray haire and furrowed face witnessed his age, his treble violl in his hande, 20  
assured me of his profession. On which (by his continuall sawing, hauing left but one string) after his best manner, hee gaue me a hunts-vp: whome, after a little musing, I assuredly remembred to be no other but old Anthony Now now. 24

The next, by his sute of ruffet, his buttond cap, his taber, his standing on the toe, and other tricks, I knew to be either the body or resemblance of Tarlton, who liuing, for his pleasant conceits was of all men liked, and dying, for mirth left not his like. 28

<sup>1</sup> *Orig.* enrerred.

The third (as the first) was an olde fellowe, his beard milkewhite, his head couered with a round lowe crownd rent filke hat, on which was a band knit in many knotes, wherein stucke two round sticke  
 4 after the Iuglers manner. His ierkin was of leather cut, his cloake of three coulours, his hose painted with yellow drawn out with blew, his instrument was a bagpipe: & him I knew to be William Cuckoe, better knowne than lou'd, and yet some thinke as well lou'd as he was  
 8 worthy.

The other two had in their countenances a reuerent grace: the one which was the elder, seeming more seuerer, was in habite like a Doctor; in his right hand hee held a Compendium of all the famous  
 12 Phisitions and Surgions workes belonging to Theorike, in his left hand a table of all instruments for mans health, appertaining to practise.

At the sight of this Doctor, you maye thinke, Gentlemen, Kind-  
 16 hart was in a pitious case: for I verily beleueed he had bene some rare Artift, that, taking me for a dead man, had come to anatomize me; but taking comfort that my thrumde hat, had hanging at it the ensignes of my occupation, like a tall fellow (as to me it seemed) I  
 20 lookte him in the face, and beheld him to bee maister Doctor Burcot (though a stranger, yet in England for phisicke famous.)

With him was the fifth, a man of indifferent yeares, of face amible, of body well proportioned, his attire after the habite of a schollerlike  
 24 Gentleman, onely his haire was somewhat long, whome I supposed to be Robert Greene, maister of Artes: of whome (howe euer some suppose themselves iniured) I haue learned to speake, considering he is dead, *nili nisi necessarium*.

28 He was of singular pleasaunce the very supporter, and, to no mans disgrace bee this intended, the only Comedian of a vulgar writer in this country.

Well, thus these five appeared, and by them in post past a knight of  
 32 the post, whome in times past I haue seen as highly promoted as the pillory: but I haue heard since he was a diuell, that plaide the Cariat of Pierce penileffe packet to Lucifer, and was now returning to contaminate the ayre, with his pestilent periuries, and abhominable false  
 36 witnesse bearing.

How Pierce his supplication pleased his Patron, I know not, but sure I take it this Friend had a foule check for meddling in the matter: for when all these five before named had made proper of severall bills inuectiue against abuses reigning, this diuelish Messenger repulsed 4 them wrathfully, and bad them get some other to bee their packet bearer if they list, for he had almost hazarded his credit in hell, by beeing a Broker betweene Pierce Penileffe and his Lord: and so, without hearing their reply, flew from them like a whirle wind. With 8 that, (after a small pause) in a round ring they compassed my bed, and thrusting into my hand all their papers, they at once charged mee to awake, and publish them to the world.

This charge seemed to mee most dreadfull of all the dreame, because in that the distinguishing of their severall voices was heard, farre from the frequent manner of mens speech. In fine, *Cuckoe* with his pipes, and *Antony* with his Crowd, keeping equall equipage first left my sight; *Tarlton* with his Taber fetchi[n]g two or three leaden 16 friskes, shortly followed, and the Doctor and maister Greene immediately vanished.

With this (not a little amazed, as one from a trance reviued) I rouzd vp my selfe: when sodainly out of my hand fell the five 20 papers, which confirmed my dreame to bee no fantisie. Yet (for that I knew the times are daungerous) I thought good aduisedly to read them, before I presumed to make them publick.

So by chance lighting first on *Antony nownowe* I

24

found on the outside, as follows

on the other side.

(†††)









*The friendly Admonition of Antho-  
nie Now now, to Mopo and  
Pickering, Arch-ouerseers of the  
Ballad singers, in London, or  
else-where.*

4



Anthony now now, a Gods blessing, to his louing and liuing Bretheren Mopo and Pickering, greeting: whereas by the daily recourſe of infinit numbers to the infernall regions, 8  
whoſe plaintes to be heard are no leſſe lamentable, then their paines to be felt intollerable, I am giuen to vnderſtand, that there be a company of idle youths, loathing honeſt labour and diſpiſing lawfull trades, betake them to a vagrant and vicious life, in euery 12  
corner of Cities & market Townes of the Realme ſinging and ſelling of ballads and pamphletes full of ribaudrie, and all ſcurrilous vanity, to the prophanation of Gods name, and with-drawing people from chriſtian exerciſes, eſpecially at faires, markets, and ſuch publike meetings, 16  
I humbly deſire ye that ye ioyne with another of your bretheren, free of one Citie and profeſſion, that alwaies delighting in godly ſonges, is now in his age betaken to his beads, and liueth by the dolefull tolling of Deaths bell warning. Deere frendes, I beſeech you ioynly to agree 20  
to the ſuppreſſing of the aforenamed idle vagabonds. And that I right incite (as I hope) your forward effectes, I will particularize the difference betweene the abuſed times among you reputed, and the ſimplicity of the daies wherein I liued. Withall, I wiſh ye to expect 24  
no greater matter then *Anthonyes* capacity can comprehend. When I was liked, there was no thought of that idle vpſtart generation of ballad-fingers, neither was there a printer ſo lewd that would ſet

finger to a lasciuious line. But I perceiue the times are changed, and men are changed in the tines. For not long since a number of children were bolstered by some vnwoorthy Citizens and other free  
 4 men in Townes Corporate to exercise a base libertine life in singing any thing that came to hand from some of the Diuels instruments, intruders into printings misserie, by whome that excelent Art is not  
 8 nor Religion in the least measure hindred. And to shut vp al in the last, is it not lamentable that after so many callings, so many blessings, so many warnings, through the couetous desire of gaine of some two or three, such a flocke of Run-agates shoulde ouerspred the face of  
 12 this land, as at this time it doth. They that intend to infect a riuer, poison the fountaine; the Basiliske woundeth a man by the eie, whose light first failing, the body of force descends to darknes.

These Basilisks, these bad minded monsters, brought forth like  
 16 vipers by their mothers bane, with such lasciuious lewdnes haue first infected London, the eie of England, the head of other Cities, as what is so lewd that hath not there, contrary to order, beene printed, and in euery streete abusiuely chanted. This error (ouer spreding the realme)  
 20 hath in no small measure increased in Elix, and the shires thereto adioyning, by the blusshesse faces of certaine Babies, sonnes to one *Barnes*, most frequenting Bishops Stafford. The olde fellow their father, soothing his sonnes folly, resting his crabbed limes on a crab-  
 24 tree staffe, was wont (and I thinke yet he vses) to seuer himselfe from the Booth, or rather Brothell of his two sons Ballad shambels: where, the one in a sweaking treble, the other in an ale-blowne base, carrowle out such adultrous ribaudry, as chaste eares abhorre to heare, and mo-  
 28 destie hath no tongue to vtter.

While they are in the ruffe of ribaudie, (as I was about to say) the olde ale-knight, their dad, breakes out into admiration, and sends stragling customers to admire the roaring of his sonnes: where, that I  
 32 may shoue some abuses, and yet for shame let slip the most odious, they heare no better matter, but the lasciuious vnder songs of Watkins ale, the Carmans whistle, Chopingkniues, and frier foxtaile, and that with such odious and detested boldnes, as if there be any one line  
 36 in those lewd songs than other more abhominable, that with a double

repetition is lowdly belowed, as for example of the frier and the nunne.

*He whipt her with a foxes taile, Barnes minor,*

*And he whipt her with a foxes taile, Barnes maior.*

4

O braue boies, faith *Barnes maximus*. The father leapes, the lubers roare, the people runne, the Diuell laughs, God lowers, and good men weepe. Nay, no sooner haue the godly preachers deliuered wholesome doctrine, but these impes of iniquitie, and such as imitate 8 their order, draw whole heapes to hearken to their iniquinated cries, as if they were heardes of the Gergishites swine, ready to receiue whole legions of soule-drowning spirites.

*Stephen, Mopo, and Pickering*, I muse you make no complaint to 12 those worshipfull that haue authority to restraine such straglers; for this is to be proued, of whome soeuer they buy them, that these two *Barnes* vtter more licentious songs, then all that part of England beside.

16

Shamefull it is (had they any shame) that men brought vppe to an honest handicraft, of which the realme more need then iygging vanities, should betake them to so impudent a course of life. The Rogue that liueth idly is restrained, the fidler and plaier that is 20 maister! [e]ffe is in the same predicament: both these by the law are burned in the eare: and shall men more odious scape vnpunished?

It were to be wisht, if they will not be warnd, that aswell the fingers, as their supporters, were burned in the tongue that they might 24 rather be euer vtterly mute, then the triumphers of so many mischiefes. Neither are these two alone in fault, though they stand worthely formost as *Malorum Duces*; but besides them, others more then a good many, some (as I haue heard say) taken to be apprentices 28 by a worthlesse companion (if it proue true that is of him reported) being of a worshipfull trade, and yet no Stationer, who, after a little bringing them vppe to singng brokerie, takes into his shop some fresh men, and trusts his olde searuantcs of a two months standing with a 32 doffen groates worth of ballads. In which if they prouue thrifty, hee makes them prety chapmen, able to spred more pamphlets by the state forbidden, then all the Bookefellers in London; for only in this Citie is straight search, abroad smale suspition, especially of such petty 36

pedlers. Neither is he for these flies only in fault, but the Gouerners of cutpurse hall, finding that their company wondrously increast, howeuer manye of their beste workemen monthly miscande at the three  
 4 foot crosse, they tooke counsaile how they might find some new exercise to imploy their number.

One of the ancientest that had beene a traueller, and at Brainetree faire seene the resort to the standings of the forenamed brethren, the  
 8 sonnes of olde Barnes the Plummer, chose out roaringe Dicke, Wat Wimbars, *cum multis aliis* of tune-able trebles, that gathered fundry assemblies in diuers places, where, yer a leaud songe was fully ended, some mist their kniues, some their purses, soome one thinge, soome  
 12 another. And alasfe, who woulde suspecte my innocent youtbes, that all the while were pleasinge rude peoples eyes and eares, with no les delectable noyse, then their ditties were delightfome: the one becing too odious to bee read, the other too infectious to be heard. Well,  
 16 how euer they sung, it is like they shared: for it hath beene saide, they themfelues bragge, they gayned their twenty shillings in a day. Ah brother Mopo, many a hard meale haue you made, and as many a time hath Curtell, your foure-footed traueiler, beene pinchd for want of  
 20 prouander, and yet at the weekes ende haue you hardly taken tenne shillings. But I perswade my selfe you gaine by your honest labour, and they by legerdemaine. To tell you your owne iniuries, by them euery where offered, neede not: to wish you to speake to them, it  
 24 bootes not. Therefore this is my counsaile, and let it be your course: Make humble suite to her Maiesties Officers, that they may bee hencefoorth prohibited: intreate the Preachers that they inuaye againste this vice, whiche, though it seeme small to other abuses, yet  
 28 as a graine of mustard seeede it encreases, and bringeth forth more mischiefes, then few wordes can expresse, or much diligence make voide. First, if there be any songes suffered in such publike sorte to be soong, beseech that they may either be such as your selues, that  
 32 after seauen yeares or more seruice, haue no other liuinge lefte you out of Pattennt, but that poore base life, of it selfe too badde, yet made more beggerly, by increase of number: or at least if any<sup>1</sup> besides you be therto admitted, than it may be none other but aged and impotent

<sup>1</sup> *Orig.* if any if.

persons: who, liuinge vpon charity, may the rather draw those that  
 delight in good songs, to haue mercy on their neede. For to sing  
 publicly, is by a kinde of tolleration, permitted only to beggars, of  
 which number, it is not necessary to make them that haue seene no 4  
 number of yeares, nor are in the members of their bodies imperfect.  
 Is it not absurde to see a long legd lubber pinned in a chayre, fedde  
 with a dugge, dresse with a bibbe, and rockte in a cradle? As vile it  
 is, that boyes of able strength, and agreeable capacity, should bee 8  
 suffered to wrest from the miserable Aged, the last refuge in their life  
 (beggery excepted) the poore helpe of Ballad-singing. Many a crust  
 hath old Anthony gotte by it, Mopo, beside other comfortes: but now  
 I heare my blinde brother that exercisde the base, is forced to lay his 12  
 fiddle to pawne, and trust onely to the two and thirtieth Psalme, and  
 Iob patience, for his poore belly-pinching pittaunce. Once againe I  
 tourne mee in your names to the Maiestrates, and Preachers of London,  
 and as to them, so to others else-where in the Realme. Right honor- 16  
 able, reuerend, or worshipfull, Anthony humbly desires you, to looke  
 into the leaud cause, that these wicked effects may fall. The people  
 delighte to heare some new thinge: if these prophane ribauldries were  
 not: somewhat fauering of godlinesse, of policy, or at the vtmost of 20  
 morrall witte, should be receiued. It is common, that they which  
 haue capacitye, when they heare either Diuinitye, Lawe, or other  
 Artes, apply their memories to receiue them; and as they haue con-  
 ceiued, they bringe forth frutes: so fares it by the contrary, when 24  
 they heare lasciuious surquedry, leudnesse, impiety, they yeeld no  
 other haruest, than they receiued seede: for who canne gather grapes  
 of thornes, or figges of thistles? It would bee thought the Carman  
 that was wou<sup>nt</sup> to whistle to his beastes a comfortable note, might 28  
 aswell continue his olde course, wherby his sount serued for a musicall  
 harmony in Gods eare, as now profanely to follow a liggig vanity,  
 which can bee no better than odious before God, sith it is abhomin-  
 able in the eares of good men. But all is one, they are suffred, which 32  
 makes them secure; and there is no impietye but the baser flatter  
 themselues in, because they are not more stricktly reprehended by their  
 betters. If euery idle word shall be aunswared for, how shall they  
 escape that suffer whole dayes to bee consumde in abhominable bro- 36

thelry. Well, at the handes of the sheapheard shall the flocke be challenged: there is a mercy that kisseth Iustice; euery other tolleration is sinnefull and shamefull. Heere Anthony now now ceases: knowing  
 4 the superiours haue discretion, vppon true information, to deale as befeemes them. I onely vrge my brother Mopo, S. P. and Pickeringe, to beseech that lasciuious fingers may bee vtterlye supprest, as they will shew themfelues to bee the men they should be; wherein if they  
 8 faile, let them liue euer in perpetuall pouertye, and fare at all tymes as harde as poor Mopos Cut did with his maisters countreyman in Shorditch, till, by the force of his hinder heeles, he vtterly vndid two milch maydens, that had set vp a shoppe of Ale-drapery. Subscribed

12

*Anthony now now a Gods blessing.*

When I had read this rabble, wherein I found little reason, I laide it by, intendinge at more time to seeke out Mopo, and his mentioned companions. The nexte paper I chaunced on, was that of Maister  
 16 Doctor Burcot:

The superscription thus.

To the impudent discreditors of Phisickes Art,  
 either speedy amendement or  
 punishment.



Niurious enemies to Arts, that haue sought to make Phisick, 4  
 among common people, esteemed common, and Chi-  
 rurgery contemptible: to you is this my Breefe address'd;  
 for since I lefte the earth, commaunded by him that  
 disposes of euery creature, I vnderstande soome greene-headed scoffers 8  
 at my greene receipt, haue intermedled in matters more then they  
 conceiue, and by that folly effected much lesse then they promised.  
 It was helde of olde for a principle, and not long since obserued as a  
 custome, that as the nightes Battes, fore-runners of darkenesse, neuer 12  
 flickered in the streetes till the Sunne was declinde, and then euery  
 where blindly flapped in mennes faces: so the Owles of Artes, blinde-  
 finder-mise (as I may tearme them) confirming the old Oracle,  
 neuer shewe themselues but in corners, giuing their rules for that they 16  
 vnderstand not, to the losse of life, or mans dismembringe. Every  
 simple hath his vertue, euery disease his beginning: but the remedy  
 riseth from the knowledge of the cause: If any can (in naturall fence)  
 giue ease, they must be Artistes, that are able to search the cause, 20  
 resist the disease, by prouiding remedies. How fares it then, blinde  
 abusers of the blind, your blushles faces are so seasoned, that you can  
 in print or publike writings, open the skirtes of your shame, by pro-  
 mising fight to the blinde, sound ioyntes to the gowty, steady members 24  
 to the Paraletike, strong limmes to the lame, quicke hearing to the  
 deafe, fence to the franticke. To begin with I. D. one of your fight  
 healers: was it not wel handled by him, when a gentleman of good  
 account hauing onely a heate in one of his eies, hee, like a kinde 28  
 christian, perswaded the patient to receiue a water preseruatiue to the  
 sound eie, that it might draw the humor from the first, when in very  
 truth by his cunning hee so dealt, that not an eie was left in his head  
 whereby hee might wel see, sauing that by the ey that was first sore 32  
 he can with much adoo looke through a chriftall. Thus this cogging

fight-giuer dranke a hundred marke, and vtterly impaired the paiers fight.

O obfcure knaue, worthy to bee fo well knowne, that thine eies  
4 being thruft out of thy head in a publike affembly, thou mighteft<sup>1</sup> no  
more attempt to make blinde thy betters. There was a Gentleman  
in the world, troubled not long fince with a paine in the foote: Phifi-  
tions found it to be the gout; againft which malady promifing no  
8 precife remedy, but onely to giue eafe for the time, did their daile  
indeuour, by defenfues preuenting paine that would haue prooued  
offenfue. He, impatient of delay, forfooke all hopes of art, and de-  
liuered ouer hys life into the hands of fome of thefe trauelers that by  
12 incifion are able to eafe all atches. If a fenfible man (conceiuing their  
tiranny on him vfed) fhuld note their cuttings, drawings, corrofiuings,  
boxings, butcherings, they wold conclude, *Non erat inter Siculos tor-*  
*mentum maius*. Yet forfooth, who but thefe are welcome to difeafed  
16 or endaugered people. The reafon, they will vndertake to warrant  
what no wife man can; & if it happen by ftrong conceipt fome haue  
comfort, then to the worlds wonder in old wines monuments are they  
remembered. Short tale to make: after many tortures, God gaue the  
20 gentleman eafe by death.

For the dead Palfie, there is a woman hath a desperate drinke, that  
either helps in a yeare, or killes in an hour. Befide, fhe hath a  
charme that, mumbled thrice ouer the eare, together with oyle of  
24 *Suamone* (as fhe tearmes it) will make them that can heare but a  
little, heare in fhort time neuer a whit. But about all her Medicine  
for the quartine Ague, is admirable. viz. A pinte of exceeding ftrong  
march beere, wherein is infufed one drop of *Aqua mirabilis*, this  
28 taken at a draught before the fit is intollerable good: and for a pre-  
fident, let this ferue.

A Gentlewoman about London whofe husband is heire of a right  
woorshipfull houfe, was induced to take this drench, from this wife  
32 woman: for euery drop of that ftrong water fhe muft haue twelue  
pence. A fponefull at the leaft was prizde at fortie fhillings. Thus  
daily for almoft a moneth fhe miniftred: the Gentlewoman hauing ftill  
good hope, at laft was put by her husband quite out of comfort for

<sup>1</sup> *Orig.* mighttest.



any good at this womans handes, for he by chance getting the deceiuers glasse, would needes poure out a spunefull, what euer he paid; she cried out she could not spare it; all helpt not, he tooke it and tasted, and found it to be no other then fountaine water. 4

There was one Bond-man or free-man (it skiles not much whether) that by wondrous ready meanes would heale madmen: what expectation was of him by his great promises, all London knowes; howe lewdly hee delt, it can as well witnesse: of him I will say little, because 8 there is more knowne then I am able to set downe.

Besides these run-agates, there are some of good experience, that giuing themselues to inordinate excesse, when they are writ vnto by learned phisitions to minister for the patients health according to their 12 aduised prescription, negligently mistake. As for example, a Doctor directs to his Poticary a bill to minister to a man hauing an vlcereous fore, certaine pills for the preparing of his body; withall, a receipt for the making a corrosiue, to apply to the fore; hee (either witles, which 16 is too bad, or wilfull, which is worfe) prepares the corrosiue in pilles, and formes the Receipt for the pilles in manner of a playster.

The partie receiues the corrosiue inward, his mawe is fretted, death followes. If there be such an Apothecary that hath so done, let him 20 repent his dealings, leaft the bloud of that man light on his head.

It is said there was another skilfull, no lesse ouerseene, that hauinge a poore manne of a legge to dismember, who had long time beene his patient, & at the instant, more extreemely painde then before, 24 which was cause of requiringe his Chirurgians immediate helpe. This workeman, the poore patientes deathes-maister, in that pointe not to bee tearmed his owne Artes maister, dismembred him, the signe beeing in the foote. Whereof beeing tolde, immediately after 28 the deede, hee onely merrited this praise, by giuing counsel to the murdered man to haue patience at his suddaine ende.

But these accidentes amonge Artistes happen as seldome as the prooffe of a good cure amonge you that are vtterly ignoraunt in Arte: 32 for their faultes are committed by them rarely or neuer; your trespasses, like a quotidian disease. So of the one it may bee saide, Wine is a mocker, and strong drinke is raginge, and those that bee thereby deceiued are not wise. Yet of the other may directly bee concluded 36

to their single commendation, that as no serpent is without his hidden  
 stinge, or anie thing in earth without some blemish: so no purity of  
 their impure profession, can be equalled in imperfection, so impure is  
 4 all, so vile, so dangerous.

Therefore now returne I where I began, to you the excrementes of  
 nature, and monsters of menne, whose murders are no lesse common  
 then your craftes, whiche are not so well knowne to the world, as felt  
 8 by them that leaue it: with two of you will I ende. The one a brag-  
 gart of great antiquity, whose liuely image is yet to bee scene in King  
 Luds Pallace, and his liuing Ghost at this time miniftringe to the  
 poore Pensioners of that place. Sirra, nay it shall be, fir, in reuerence  
 12 of your old occupation, I muse not a little what wonderfull Mettalline  
 preparatiue it is ye boast on: by which, were men so mad to beleue  
 you, you are able to make anye manne not onely boldly to walke in  
 ill ayres, and conuerse daye and nighte with infected companye, but  
 16 also to receiue the strongest poison (like king *Mithridates*) into his  
 body? Tenne to one, it is so strange, as no man but your selfe is able  
 to name it. Yet giue mee leaue to gesse at it without offence to your  
 falsehoode. I remember I haue heard great talke, you haue bene both  
 20 a caster of mettall, and a forger; and it seemes you haue gotten the  
 receipte which the Tinne-melters wife miniftr'd, to breake her hus-  
 bandes colde, when he fate sleeping in his chaire, videlicet, two ounces  
 of pure Tinne put in an iron ladle, melted in the fire, and poured at  
 24 an instant downe the throat. If it be thus, I dare take your woord for  
 any payson hurting that partie that so receiues it, for as a simple fel-  
 lowe (seeing foure or fise hand for their offences, and hearing some  
 speake bitterly of them beeing deade) saide, Well, God make them  
 28 good men, they haue a faire warning: so I may say, they that deale  
 with your mettalline medicine haue a faire warrante against poison:  
 Likewise may it be saide of your admirable eie water, through the  
 vertue of whiche you haue attained the woorthipfull name of Doctor  
 32 put out: hauinge put out soome of their eies that deale with it. But  
 if I haue varied from your mettalline receipt before, I conclude it but  
 a forgerie, and so blame you not greatly for followinge a parcell of  
 your olde and (to some a) hurtfull trade.

36 Another of your bretheren, as wel ouer scene in mineralls as your

felfe, lying in a good fellowes house not long fince, being monileffe, (as ye are all but thred bare make-shiftes,) perswaded his hoast to take phisicke for feare of infection; his labour he was content to giue, and nothing for their kindnesse would hee require but euen fīue marke, 4 which he must pay for the very simples. His simple hoast beleeuing him to bee honest, gaue him the money. If hee had lefte heere, though this had beene to lewd, it had beene farre better than to go forward as he did; for some what hee bestowed on purging simples, 8 which vnprepared he ministred, and with the same ministred the poore mans death.

The lewd wretch cried out that hee had taken a great quantity of the purgation, more than he appointed, which was in a window in his 12 chamber; much adoe was made, and he would iustifie before any learned man his deed; but trusting better to his heeles, than to hazard a hanging, hee gaue them that night the slip, and is not yet taken.

To be short, how euer ye differ in seuerall shifts, yet agree you all 16 in one manner of shifting: cunning is the cloake to hide your cogging: money the marke for which ye play the makeshiftes, nay the murtherers, not of the common enimie, but your owne country-men, than which what can be more barbarous? Common reason should 20 perswade, that much reading and long practise in euery Art makes men expert. *Per Contrarium* I conclude, you that haue neither read nor practised, must needs be egregiously ignorant.

Affure your selues, if you refraine not, iustice will stand vppe, and 24 so refraine yee, as there shall be nothing more noted than your ignorant practises and impudent courses. In my life I was your aduersary: in death I am your enimie. Befeeching the reuerend Colledge of learned Doctors and worshipfull company of experient 28 Chirurgions to looke more straightly to your false deceites, and close haunts, that there may be sooner heard talke of such a rare obscure assurancer to worke what not wonders in Phisicke, or Chirurgirie, but he be rather lookt into or euer he begin, than suffred to begin, whereby 32 any poore patient should suffer losse in triall of their blind skill: so shall your coufenages be as open as your Actes be odious.

Subscribed

Burcot.

36

This is somewhat like (thought I) if he had said any thing against  
 confounding toothe drawers, that from place to place wander with  
 banners full of horse teeth, to the impairing of Kindharts occupation ;  
 4 but I perceiue maister Doctor was neuer a tooth drawer ; if he had, I  
 know he would haue toucht their deceiuings. Since he hath let them  
 passe, I greatly passe not : and yet in regard of the credit of my trade,  
 I care not to haue a blow or two with them my selfe, before I looke  
 8 any further.

Sundry of them that so wander, haue not to do with the means  
 Kindhart vseth, but forthwith by charmes they can at their pleasure  
 fray away the payne ; which Kindhart counts little better than witch  
 12 craft, if it could doe good, and so to some of them haue I affirmed it :  
 But a proper slip-string, sometime a petty schole-maister, now a pelt-  
 ing tooth charmer, hauing no reason to defend his obscure rules, quite  
 put me to silence before a well learned audience, the one a cobbler, the  
 16 other a carman, the last a collyer. These beeing poore men, had I  
 for pittie often eased of their payne, yet was the remedy I vsed some-  
 what painfull ; but not long since they are come acquainted with the  
 charmer I told ye of ; he, in charitable consideration of their griefe,  
 20 promised to ease them onely with writing, and after burning, a word  
 or two. Trauelling to a Gentlemans not farre from London, I by the  
 way chaunst to be cald to conferre with him at the same verye instant,  
 where, reproouing his opinion, hee put me downe with such a  
 24 galliemaufrey of latine ends, that I was glad to make an end : Yet got  
 I a copy of his charme, which I will set downe that I may make it  
 common.

*A Charme.*

28 F[i]rst, he must know your name, then your age, which in a little  
 paper he sets downe : on the top are these words *In verbis, et in herbis,*  
*et in lapidibus*<sup>1</sup> *sunt virtutes* ; vnderneath he writes in capitall letters  
*A AB ILLA, HVRS GIBELLA*, which he sweres is pure Chaldee  
 32 and the names of three spirites that enter into the bloud and cause  
 reumes, & so consequently the tootheach. This paper must be like-  
 wise three times blest, and at last with a little frankincense burned,

<sup>1</sup> 'lapidibus' is in Orig., not *lapidibus*.

which being thrice vsed, is of power to expell the spirites, purifie the bloud, and ease the paine, or else he lyes, for he hath practised it long, but shall approue it neuer.

Another sort, get hot wiers, and with them they burne out the 4 worme that so. torments the greeued: these fellowes are fit to visit curst wiues, and might by their practise doe a number of honest men ease, if they would misse the tooth, and worme the tongue.

Others there are, that perswade the pained, to hold their mouths 8 open ouer a basen of water by the fire side, and to cast into the fire a handfull of henbane seede, the which naturally hath in euery seede a little worme; the feedes breaking in the fire, vse a kind of cracking, and out of them, it is hard among so many, if no worme fly into the 12 water: which wormes the deceiuers affirme to haue fallen from the teeth of the diseased. This rare secret is much vsed, and not smally lyked. Sundry other could I set downe, practised by our banner-bearers, but all is fopperry; for this I find to be the only remedy for 16 the tooth paine, either to haue patience, or to pull them out.

Well, no more for mee, leaft I bee thought to speake too largely for my selfe. I had thought to haue had a fling at the rat-catchers, who with their banners displayed, beare no small sway: what I haue to 20 saye to them they shall not yet heare, because I hope they will take warning by other mens harmes. Onely this I affirme, that as some banner-bearers haue in their occupations much craft, the rat-catchers is nothing else but craft. 24

But stay Kind-hart, if thou make so long a Chorus betweene euery act, thy iests will be as stale as thy wit is weake. Therefore leauing those vagabonds to repent their villanyes, Ile bid adieu to maister 28 Doctör, and see who is our next speaker.



## Robert Greene to

*Pierce Pennilesse.*

4 **P**lerce, if thy Carrier had beene as kinde to me as I expected, I could haue dispatched long since my letters to thee: but it is here as in the world, *Donum à dando deriuatur*: where there is nothing to giue, there is nothing to be got. But hauing now found meanes to send to thee, I  
8 will certifie thee a little of my disquiet after death, of which I thinke thou either hast not heard or wilt not conceiue.

Hauing with humble penitence besought pardon for my infinite finnes, and paid the due to death; euen in my graue was I scarce  
12 layde, when Enuie (no fit companion for Art) spit out her poyson, to disturbe my rest. *Aduersus mortuos bellum suscipere, inhumanum est.* There is no glory gained by breaking a deade mans skull. *Pascitur in uiuis liuor, post fata quiescit.* Yet it appeares contrary in some,  
16 that inueighing against my workes, my pouertie, my life, my death, my burial, haue omitted nothing that may seeme malitious. For my Bookes, of what kind soeuer, I refer their commendation or dispraise to those that haue read them. Onely for my last labours affirming,  
20 my intent was to reprove vice, and lay open such villanies, as had beene very necessary to be made knowne, wherof my *Blacke Booke*, if euer it see light, can sufficiently witness.

But for my pouertie, mee thinkes wisedome would haue bridleed  
24 that inuectiue; for *Cuius potest accidere quod cuiquam potest.* The beginning of my dispraisers is knowne; of their end they are not sure. For my life, it was to none of them at any time hurtful: for my death, it was repentant: my buriall like a Christians.

28 *Alas that men so hastily should run,  
To write their own dispraise as they haue done.*

For my reuenge, it suffices, that euery halfe-eyd humanitian may account it, *Instar belluarum immaniſſimarum ſœuire in cadauer*. For the iniurie offred thee, I know I need not bring oyle to thy fire. And albeit I would diſſwade thee from more inuectiues againſt ſuch thy 4 aduerſaries (for peace is now all my plea) yet I know thou wilt returne anſwere, that ſince thou receiuedſt the firſt wrong, thou wilt not endure the laſt.

My quiet Ghoſt (vnquietly diſturbed) had once intended thus to 8 haue exclaimd.

*Pierce*, more witleſſe, than pennileſſe; more idle, than thine aduerſaries ill imployde; what fooliſh innocence hath made thee (infant like) reſiſtleſſe to beare what euer iniurie Ennie can impoſe? 12

Once thou commendedſt immediate conceit, and gaueſt no great praiſe to excellent works of twelue yeres labour: now, in the blooming of thy hopes, thou ſuffereſt ſlaunder to nippe them ere they can bud: thereby approving thy ſelfe to be of all other moſt ſlacke, beeing 16 in thine owne cauſe ſo remiſſe.

Colour can there be none found to ſhadowe thy fainting; but the longer thou deſerſt, the more greefe thou bringſt to thy friends, and giueſt the greater head to thy enemies. 20

What canſt thou tell, if (as my ſelfe) thou ſhalt bee with death preuented: and then how can it be but thou dieſt diſgrac'd, ſeeing thou haſt made no reply to their twofold Edition of Inuectiues?

It may bee thou thinkſt they will deale well with thee in death, 24 and ſo thy ſhame in tollerating them will be ſhort: forge not to thy ſelf one ſuch conceit, but make me thy preſident, and remember this olde adage: *Leonem mortuum mordent Catuli*.

Awake (ſecure boy) reuenge thy wrongs, remember mine: thy 28 aduerſaries began the abuſe, they continue it: if thou ſuffer it, let thy life be ſhort in ſilence and obſcuritie, and thy death haſtie, hated, and miſerable.

All this had I intended to write, but now I wil not giue way to 32 wrath, but returne it vnto the earth from whence I tooke it: for with happie ſoules it hath no harbour.

Had not my name beene *Kind-hart*, I would haue sworne this  
had beene sent to my selfe; for in my life I was not more pen-  
nileffe than at that instant. But remembring the Author  
4 of the *Supplication*, I laid it aside till I had  
leisure to seeke him: and taking  
vp the next, I found  
written,





## To all maligners of honest mirth,

*Tarleton* wisheth continuall melancholy.



Now Maisters, what say you to a merrie knaue, that for this two years day hath not beene talkt of? Wil you giue 4 him leaue, if he can, to make ye laugh? What, all a mort? No merry countenance? Nay, then I see hypocrisie hath the vpper hand, and her spirit raignes in this profitable generation. Sith it is thus, Ile be a time-pleaser. Fie vppon follow- 8 ing plaies, the expence is wondrous; vpon players speeches, their wordes are full of wyles; vppon their gestures, that are altogether wanton. Is it not lamentable, that a man should spende his two pence on them in an after-noone, heare couetousnes amongst them 12 daily quipt at, being one of the commonest occupations in the countrey; and in liuely gesture see trecherie set out, with which euery man now adaies vseth to intrap his brother. Byr lady, this would be lookt into: if these be the fruites of playing, tis time the practisers 16 were expeld.

Expeld (quoth you); that hath been pretily performd, to the no smal profit of the Bouling-allyes in Bedlam and other places, that were wont in the after-noones to be left empty, by the recourse of good 20 fellows vnto that vnprofitable recreation of Stage-playing.

And it were not much amisse, would they ioine with the Dicing houses to make sute againe for their longer restraint, though the sickness cease. Is not this well saide (my maisters) of an olde buttond 24 cappe, that hath most part of his life liu'd vppon that against which hee inueighs: Yes, and worthily.

But I haue more to say than this; Is it not greate shame, that the

houses of retaylers neare the Townes end, should be by their continuance impouerished : Alas good hearts, they pay great rentes ; and pittie it is but they be prouided for. While Playes are vſde, halfe the  
 4 day is by moſt youthes that haue libertie ſpent vppon them, or at leaſt the greateſt company drawne to the places where they frequent. If they were ſuppreſt, the flocke of yong people would bee equally parted. But now the greateſt trade is brought into one ſtreet. Is it  
 8 not as faire a way to *Mytle-end* by *White-chappell*, as by *Shorditch* to *Hackney* ? the Sunne ſhineth as clearly in the one place, as in the other ; the ſhades are of a like pleaſure : onely this is the fault, that by ouermuch heat ſometime they are in both places infeſtious.

12 As well in this as other things there is great abuſe : for in euery houſe where the venerian virgins are reſident, hoſpitalitie is quite exiled, ſuch fines, ſuch taxes, ſuch tribute, ſuch cuſtoms, as (poore ſoules) after ſeuē yeares ſeruiſe in that vnhalloved order, they are  
 16 faine to leaue their ſutes for offerings to the olde *Lenos* that are ſhrine-keepers, and themſelues (when they begin to break) are faine to ſeeke harbour in an Hoſpittall : which chaunceth not (as ſometime is thought) to one amongſt twentie, but hardly one amongſt a hundred  
 20 haue better ending. And therefore ſeeing they liue ſo hardly, its pitie Players ſhould hinder their takings a peny.

I marry (ſaies *Baudeamus* my quondam Hoſt) well, faire olde Dicke, that worde was well plac'd : for thou knowſt our rentes are ſo  
 24 vureaſonable, that except wee cut and ſhaue, and poule, and prig, we muſt return *Non eſt inuentus* at the quarter day.

For is not this pittifull ? I am a man now as other men be, and haue liu'd in ſome ſhire of England, till 'all the Country was wearie  
 28 of mee. I come vp to London, and fall to be ſome Tapſter, Hoſtler, or Chamberlaine in an Inne : Well, I get mee a wife, with her a little money : when we are married, ſeeke a houſe we muſt ; no other occupation haue I but to be an Ale-draper ; the Landlord wil haue fortie  
 32 pound fine, and twenty marke a yeare ; I and mine muſt not lie in the ſtreet : he knows by honeſt courſes I can neuer paye the Rent. What ſhould I ſay ? ſomewhat muſt be done, rent muſt be paid, duties diſchargd, or we vndone. To bee ſhort, what muſt be ſhall be : indeede  
 36 ſometimes I haue my Landlordes countenance before a Juſtice, to caſt

a cloake ouer ill-rule, or els hee might seeke such another tenant to pay his rent so truly.

Quaintly concluded (*Peter Pandar*) somewhat yee must bee, and a bawd ye will bee. I, by my troth fir, why not I as well as my neigh- 4  
bors, since theres no remedy. And you fir, find fault with plaies. Out vpon them, they spoile our trade, as you your selfe haue proued. Beside, they open our crosse-biting, our conny-catching, our traines, our traps, our gins, our snares, our subtilties: for no sooner haue we 8  
a tricke of deceit, but they make it common, fingering ligs, and making ieasts of vs, that euerie boy can point out our houses as they passe by.

Whither now *Tarlton*? this is extempore, out of time, tune, and 12  
temper. It may be well said to me :

*Stulte, quid hæc faris, &c.*

*Ruficus ipse, tuis malus es, tibi pessimus ipse.*

Thy selfe once a Player, and against Players: nay, turne out the 16  
right side of thy ruffet coate, and lette the world know thy meaning. Why thus I meane, for now I speake in sobernes.

Euery thing hath in it selfe his vertue and his vice: from one selfe flower the Bee and Spider sucke honny and poyson. In plaies it fares 20  
as in bookes, vice cannot be reprov'd, except it be discouered: neither is it in any play discouered, but there followes in the same an example of the punishment: now he that at a play will be delighted in the one, and not warned by the other, is like him that reads in a 24  
booke the description of sinne, and will not looke ouer the leafe for the reward.

Mirth in seasonable time taken, is not forbidden by the austereft 28  
Sapients.

But indeede there is a time of mirth, and a time of mourning. Which time hauing been by the Magistrats wisely obserued, as well for the suppressing of Playes, as other pleasures: so likewise a time may come, when honest recreation shall haue his former libertie. 32

And lette *Tarleton* intreate the yoong people of the Cittie, either to abstaine altogether from playes, or at their comming thither to vse themselues after a more quiet order.

In a place so ciuill as this Cittie is esteemed, it is more than barbarously rude, to see the shamefull disorder and routes that sometime in such publike meetings are vsed.

- 4 The beginners are neither gentlemen, nor citizens, nor any of both their seruants, but some lewd mates that long for innouation; & when they see aduantage, that either Seruingmen or Apprentises are most in number, they will be of either side, though indeed they are of  
8 no side, but men beside all honestie, willing to make boote of cloakes, hats, purses, or what euer they can lay holde on in a hurley burley. These are the common causers of discord in publike places. If otherwise it happen (as it seldome doth) that any quarrell be betweene man  
12 and man, it is far from manhood to make so publike a place their field to fight in: no men will doe it, but cowardes that would faine be parted, or haue hope to haue manie partakers.

- Nowe to you that maligne our moderate merriments, and thinke  
16 there is no felicitie but in exceffiue possession of wealth: with you I would ende in a song, yea an Extempore song on this Theame, *Ne quid nimis necessarium*: but I am now hoarse, and troubled with my Taber and Pipe: beside, what pleasure brings musicke to the miserable.  
20 Therefore letting songes passe, I tell them in fadnes, how euer Playes are not altogether to be commended: yet some of them do more hurt in a day, than all the Players (by exercizing theyr profession) in an age. Faults there are in the professors as other men, this the greatest,  
24 that diuers of them beeing publike in euerie ones eye, and talkt of in euery vulgar mans mouth, see not how they are seene into, especially for their contempt, which makes them among most men most contemptible.  
28 Of them I will say no more: of the profession, so much hath *Pierce Penniless* (as I heare say) spoken, that for mee there is not any thing to speake. So wishing the chearefull, pleasure endlesse; and the wilfull fullen, sorrow till they surfet; with a turne on the toe I  
32 take my leaue.

*Richard Tarleton.*

When I had done with this, one thing I mislikte, that *Tarleton* stode no longer on that point of Landlords: For lamentable it is (in

*Kind-harts* opinion) to note their vnreasonable exaction. I my selfe knewe a Landlord, that beginning to enlarge a little Tenement, was according to statute prohibited: hee made humble suite that the worke might go forward; for, good man, he meant not to make 4 thereby any benefite, but euen in charitie he would turne it into an Almes-house. This godly motion was liked, and he allowed to goe forward with his building. The worke ended, in all the Country there could not poore bee found worthy, or at least able, to enter into 8 the same.

To be short, it was turned into a Tauerne, and with rent and fine in few monthes turnd the Tenant out of doores. Yet it hath beene faide, the poore man did what hee might, *Cum vino & venere*, to 12 continue his state: but the Landlord had made such a Dent in his stocke, that with all the wit in his head it would not bee stopt. I befrew the Card-makers, that clapt not a gowne about the Knaue of Hartes, & put him on a hat for a bonnet ouer his night-cappe, then 16 had not after Age taken care for the Image of this excellent Almes-house builder, but in euerie Ale-house should haue beene reserued his monument, till *Macke, Maw, Ruffe, Noddy, and Trumpe*, had beene no more vsde, than his charitie is felt. 20

Pitie it is such Wolues are not shakte out of sheeps cloathing. Elder times detested such extremitie: the Gospels liberty (howsoeuer some Libertines abuse it) giues no such license: by their auarice Religion is slandered, lewdnes is bolstered, the suburbs of the Citie are 24 in many places no other but darke dennes for adulterers, theeues, murderers, and euery mischiefe worker: daily experience before the Magistrates confirms this for truth.

I would the hart of the Cittie were whole, for both within and 28 without, extreame crueltie causeth much beggerie. *Victa iacet pietas*, and with pietie pittie. Selfe loue hath exiled charitie: and as among beastes the Lyon hunteth the Wolfe, the Wolfe deuoureth the Goate, and the Goate feedeth on mountaine hearbs: so among men, the 32 great oppresse the meaner, they againe the meanest: for whom hard fare, colde lodging, thinne clothes, and sore labour is onely allotted.

To see how soone the world is changd: In my time I remember two men, the one a Diuine, the other a Cittizen: it was their vse, at 36

the time they should quarterly receiue their duties (for the first was well beneficed, the later a great Landlord) when they came to anie poore creature, whome sicknesse had hindered, or mischaunce impaired, or many children kept lowe: they would not onely forgiue what they should receiue, but giue bountifully for the releefe of their present necessitie.

The olde Prouerbe is verified, *Seldome comes the better*: and they are pooffest: the poore of that comfort dispooffest.

Some Landlords hauing turnd an old Brue-houfe, Bake-houfe, or Dye-houfe, into an Alley of tenements, will either themfelues, or some at their appointment, keepe tipling in the fore-houfe (as they call it) and their poore tenantes must bee inioinde to fetch bread, drinke, wood, cole, and such other necessaries, in no other place: and there till the weekes ende they may haue any thing of trust, provided they lay to pawne their holiday apparell: nay, my Land-lady will not onely doe them that good turne, but if they want money, she will on munday lend them likewise vppon a pawne eleuen pence, and in meere pittie askes at the weekes end not a penny more than twelue pence.

O charitable loue, happy tenants of so kinde a Landlady: I warrant ye this Ufurie is within the Statute, it is not aboue fve hundred for the loane of a hundred by the yeare.

Neyther will they doe this good to their tenantes alone, but they will deale with their husbandes, that for a little roome with a smoakie chimney (or perchaunce none, because smoake is noysome) they shall pay at the least but fortie shillings yeerly.

Fie vpon fines, thats the vndooing of poore people: wee take none (say these good creatures) marry for the key wee must haue confideration, that is, some Angell in hand: for verely the last tenant made vs change the locke: neither thinke we deale hardly, for it stands in a good place, quite out of company, where handicraft men may haue leysure to get their liuing, if they knew on what to set themfelues a worke.

Now for all this kindnesse, the Land-lord scarce asketh of the tenant thanks (though hee deserue it well), for (as I saide) his Wife is all the dealer: so plaies the Parson (the person I should say, I

would bee loath to be mistaken) that I tolde yee before builded the Almes-house. The care of rentes is committed to his Wife, he is no man of this world, but as one metamorphizd from a Saint to a Deuill.

4

How now *Kindhart*? shall we neuer haue done with these Land-lords? It seemes well thou hast as little land as witte: for while thou liuest they wil not mend, and therefore its as good to

make an ende, as waste winde. Well, all this

8

was of good will to helpe *Tarleton* out

with his tale. Now let me see what

note *Cuckoe* sings, for tis his

lucke to be last.


12





## William Cuckoe to all close

Iuglers wisheth the discouery of their crafts,  
*and punishment for their knaueries.*

4  Oome for a craftie knaue, cries *William Cuckoe*. Knaue,  
nay, it will neare hande beare an action: Bones a mee,  
my trickes are stale, and all my old companions turnd  
into Ciuill futes. I perceiue the worlde is all honestie,  
8 if it be no other than it lookes. Let me see, if I can see: beleue mee  
theres nothing but iugling in euery corner; for euery man hath  
learnd the mysterie of casting myfts; & though they vse not our olde  
tearms of hey-passe, re-passe, and come aloft: yet they can by-passe  
12 compasse, and bring vnder one another as cunningly and comunly,  
as euer poore *Cuckoe* coulde command his Iacke in a Boxe.

Yet my maisters, though you robde me of my trade, to giue recom-  
pence, after death I haue borrowed a tongue a little to touch their  
16 tricks.

And now fir, to you that was wont like a Subsister in a gown of  
rugge rent on the left shoulder, to sit finging the Counter-tenor by  
the Cage in Southwarke: me thinks ye should not looke so coyly on  
20 olde Cuckoe. What man, it is not your signe of the Ape and the  
Urinall can carry away our olde acquaintance?

I trust yee remember your iugling at *Newington* with a Chrifstall  
stone, your knaueries in the wood by *Wanfleet*, the wondrous treasure  
24 you would discouer in the Ile of *Wight*, al your villanies about that  
peece of seruice, as perfect[ly] known to some of my friends yet  
liuing as their Pater noster, who curse the time you euer came in  
their Creed.

28 But I perceiue you fare as the Fox, the more band, the better hap.



I wonder what became of your familiar, I meane no Deuill, man ; but a man Deuil : and yet I need not wonder, for since my descending to vnder earth, I heard say he was hangd for his knauerie, as you in good time may be, *Amen*. Amend I should say, but I thinke yee 4 meane it not : the matter is not great, for (thanks be to God) how euer you mend in manners, the world is wel amended with your man and you.

I pray ye was that hee which was your instrument in *Notingham-shire*, to make your name so famous for finding things lost ? It may be, you forgot that one fetch among many : and least it should bee out of your heade, Ile helpe to beate it into your braines.

**Y**Our Maſhip vpon a horſe whoſe hire is not paid for, with your 12  
Page at your ſtirrop, like a *Caſtilian Cavalier*, lighted pennileſſe at a pretie Inne, where that day ſate certain Juſtices in Commiſſion. Your high hart, careleſſe of your preſent neede, would needes for your ſelfe ſhare out one of the faireſt chambers. Your Page muſt 16 be purueyer for your diet, who in the kitchen found nothing for your liking. Beeſe was groſſe, veale ſlaſhy, mutton fulſome, rabbits, hens, & capons, common. Wild foule for Will foole, or he will faſt. 20

Well, at your will ye ſhall be furniſht. But now a Iugling tricke to pay the ſhot.

My Impe your man, while miſtriſſe, men, and maids were buſied about prouiſion for the Juſtices that ſate, ſlips into a priuate parlour, 24 wherein ſtood good ſtore of plate, and conueying a maſſy fault vnder his Capouch, little leſſe woorth than twentie marke, got ſecretely to the back-ſide, and caſt it into a filthie pond : which done, he acquaints your knaueſhip with the deed. 28

By then your diet was dreſt, the fault was miſt, the good Wife cryde out, the maydes were ready to runne madde.

Your man, (making the matter ſtrange) inquired the cauſe : which when they tolde. O (quoth hee) that my maiſter would deale in the 32 matter, I am ſure he can do as much as any in the world.

Well, to you they come pitifully complaining ; when very wrathfully (your choler riſing) you demaund reaſon why they ſhould thinke

ye bee able to deale in such cafes. Your kind nature (bent alwayes to lenitie) yeelded at the last to their importuning: onely wisht them to stay till the nexte day, for that you would not deale while the  
4 Iustices were in the house.

They must do as your discretion appoints: next day, calling the good-man and wife to your bed-side, ye tell them the salte was stolne by one of their familiars, whom he had forced by Art to bring it  
8 backe againe to the house, and in such a pond to cast it, because he would not haue the partie knowne, for feare of trouble.

As you direct them, they search and find: then comes your name in rare admiration; the Host giues you foure Angels for a reward, the  
12 Hostesse two French crowns: the maydes are double diligent to doe you seruice, that they may learne their fortunes; the whole towne talks of the cunning man, that indeed had onely connycatcht his Host.

16 If that slip-string bee still in your seruice, I aduise you make much of him, for by that tricke he prou'd himfelfe a toward youth, necessary for such a maister. This iugling passeth *Cuckoes* play. Well, I aduise you play least in fight in London, for I haue sette some to  
20 watch for your comming, that will iustifie all this and more of your shifting life.

Returne to your olde craft and play the Pinner: although it be a poore life, it is an honest life: your fallacies will one day faile ye.

24 There is another Iugler, that beeing well skild in the Iewes Trumpe, takes vpon him to bee a dealer in Musicke: especiall good at mending Instruments: he iugled away more instrumentes of late, than his bodie (being taken) will euer be able to make good.

28 Tut, thats but a plaine tricke: How say ye by some Iuglers that can serue writs without any original, and make poore men dwelling farre off, compound with them for they knowe not what? I tell you there bee such, that by that trick can make a vacation time quicker  
32 to them than a Terme: who troubling threescore or fourescore men without cause, get of some a crowne, of others a noble, of diuers a pound, beside the ordinarie costes of the writ, to put off their appearance, when no such thing was toward.

36 Fie vpon these Iuglers, they make the lawes of the Realme be ill

spoken of, and are cause that plaine people thinke all Lawyers like them: as appeares by a poore old man by chance comming into one of the worshipful Innes of the Court, where fundry Ancients and Students both honorable and worshipfull sate at supper: the poore 4 man admiring their comely order and reuerent demeanor, demaunded of a stander by, what they were. Gentlemen (said hee) of the Innes of Court. Lord blesse hem (quoth plaine *Coridon*) beene they of Queens Court? No, said the other, but of the Innes of Court. 8 What doon they, quoth the Countrey man; wotten yee? The other answered, that they were all Lawyers, and Students of the Lawe. Now, well a neere cries plaine Simplicitie: wee han but one Lawyer with vs, and hee spoyles all the Parish: but heere been now to marre 12 the whole shire. His simplenes was by the hearers well taken, and the Lawiers name inquired, who prou'd no other but one of these pettifogging Iuglers, that, hauing scraped vp a few common places, and by long Sollicitership got in to be an odd Attorney, was not long 16 since disgraded of his place by pitching ouer the Barre, yet promoted to looke out of a wodden window, cut after the Doue hole fashion, with a paper on his futtle pate, containing the iugling before shewed. So fortune it to his fellowes, and let their misery come *cito pede*. 20 Law is in it selfe good, the true Professors to be highly esteemd. But as in Diuinity it sometime fares that Schismatikes, Heretikes, and such like, make Scripture a cloake for their detested errors, and by their practises seeke to make the reuerend Diuines contemptible; so 24 a sort of Connycatchers (as I may call them) that haue gathered vp the gleanings of the Law, onely expert to begin controuerfies, and vtterly ignorant of their end, perswade the simple that if they will follow their rules, thus and thus, it shall chance to their speedy quiet- 28 ing, and that Attorneys, Counsellors and Serieants, are too costly to bee dealt with simply, but by their mediation, who are able to speak when Counsell failes, and giue more ease in an houre, than the best Benchers in a yeare; when, God wot, they doo no more good than a 32 Drone in a Hiue. These Iuglers are too cunning for *Cuckoe*, and in the end will proue too crafty for themselues. Other Iuglers there bee, that hauing fauour from Authority to seeke some thing to themselves beneficiall, and to the Common-wealth not preiudiciall. vnder 36

colour of orderly dealing, haue hookt into their hands the whole liuing to a number poore men belonging. These, when they were complained on, immediately tooke an honest course, and promised large  
 4 reliefe yeerely to them they wrong: But euery promise is either broken, or kept, & so it fares with them: I protest if their Iugling were set downe, it would make a pretty volume: but I wil let them passe, because there is hope they will remember themselues. To set  
 8 downe the Iugling in Trades, the crafty tricks of buyers and sellers, the swearing of the one, the lying of the other, were but to tell the worlde that which they well knowe, and therefore I will likewise ouerslip that. There is an occupation of no long standing about  
 12 London called Broking or brogging, whether ye will; in which there is pretty Iugling, especially to blind Law, and bolster Usury: if any man be forst to bring them a pawne, they will take no interest, not past twelue pence a pound for the month; marry, they must haue a  
 16 groat for a monthly bill: which is a bill of sale from month to month; so that no aduantage can be taken for the Usurie. I heare say its well multiplied since I died; but I beshrewe them, for in my life many a time haue I borrowed a shilling on my Pipes, and paid a  
 20 groat for the bill, when I haue fetcht out my pawne in a day.

This Iugling exceeds *Cuckoes* gettings, and sundry times turnd poore *William* to his shifts. Indeede I deny not, but in their kind some of them deale well, and wil preferue a mans goods safe, if he  
 24 keep any reasonable time: these are not so blameable, as they that make immediate sale. If euer I haue oportunity to write into the world againe, I will learne who abuse it most, and who vse it best, and set ye downe their dwelling places.

28 Now I will draw to an end, concluding with a Master Iugler, that he may be well knowne if he be got into any obscure corner of the Countrey. This Shifter forfooth carried no lesse countenance than a Gentlemans abilitie, with his two men in blue coates, that serued for  
 32 shares, not wages. Hee being properly seated in a Shire of this Realme, and by the report of his men bruted for a cunning man, grew into credit by this practise.

His house beeing in a Village through which was no thorough  
 36 Fare, his men, and sometime his Mastershippe in their company, at

midnight woulde goe into their neighbours feuerall grounds, being farre distant from their dwelling houses, and oftentimes driue from thence Horfes, Mares, Oxen, Kine, Calues, or Sheepe, what euer came next to hande, a mile perchaunce or more out of the place 4 wherein they were left.

Home would they return, and leaue the cattel fraying: In the morning, sometime the milke-maids misse their Kine, another day the Plough-hinds their Oxen, their Horfes another time, somewhat of 8 some woorth once a weeke lightly. Whither can these poore people go but to the wise mans worship? Perchaunce in a morning two or three come to complaine and seeke remedie, who, welcommed by one of his men, are feuerally demaunded of their losses. If one come for 12 sheepe, another for other cattell, they are all at first tolde, that his Maisterhip is a sleepe, and, till hee himselfe call, they dare not trouble him.

But very kindly he takes them into the hall, and when his worship 16 first, promises them they shall speake with him at liberty. Now first behind a curtaine in the hall stands a shelve garnisht with bookes, to which my mate goes vnder to take one downe. And as he takes it down, pulleth certaine frings which are fastened to feuerall small 20 bells in his Maisters chamber; and as the bells strike, hee knowes what cattell his neighbors come to seeke, one bell being for Oxen, another for kine, another for swine, &c. A while after he stamps, and makes a noyse about; the seruicingman intreats the Suters to go vp, and 24 hee hearing them comming, himselfe kindly opens them the dore, and ere euer they speake, salutes them, protesting for their losse great sorrowe, as if hee knew their griefes by reuelation, comforts them with hope of recouery, and such like wordes. They cry out, Iesu 28 blesse your Masterhip, what a gift haue you to tel our mindes, and neuer heares vs speake. I, neighbors, faith he, ye may thanke God: I trust I am come among ye to doe ye all good. Then knowing which way they were driuen, hee bids them goe either East-ward, or South- 32 ward to seeke neere such an Oake or rowe of Elmes, or water, or such like marke neere the place where the Cattell were left; and hee assures them that by his skill the theeues had no power to carry them farther than that place. They runne and seek their cattle, which 36

when they finde, O admirable wife man, the price of a Cow we will not sticke with him for; happy is the shire where such a one dwels. Thus doe the pore coufoned people proclaime, and so our shifter is  
 4 sought too far and neere. I thinke this be iugling in the highest degree: if it be not, *Cuckoe* is out of his compasse. Well, the world is full of holes, and more shiftes were neuer practifde. But this is *Cuckoes* counsell, that yee leaue in time, lest being conuicted like my  
 8 Hoast of the Anchor, ye pine your selues in prison to saue your eares from the Pillory: an end too good for Iugling shifters, and cofening periurers.

*William Cuckoe.*

12 Ha firra, I am glad we are at an end: *Kindhart* was neuer in his life so weary of reading. Beshrew them for me, they haue wakened me from a good sleepe, and wried me almost out of my wits. Here hath beene a coile indeede, with lewd song fingers, drench giuers,  
 16 detracters, players, oppressors, rentraisers, bawdes, brothel-houfcs, shifters, and Iuglers. But sith they haue all done, turne over the leafe and heare how merrily *Kindhart* will conclude.



# Englandes Mourning Garment:

Worne here by plaine Shepheardes ;

*in memorie of their sacred Mistresse,*

ELIZABETH, Queene of Vertue while shee  
liued, and Theame of Sorrow,  
being dead.

To which is added the true manner of her  
Emperiall Funerall.

After which foloweth the Shepheards Spring-Song,  
for entertainement of King IAMES our  
most potent Soueraigne.

Dedicated to all that loued the deceased Queene,  
and honor the liuing King.

*Non Verbis sed Virtute.*



¶ Printed at London by V.S. for Thomas Millington, and are  
to be sold at his shop vnder saint Peters Church in Cornhil.







To all true Louers of the right grati-  
*ous Queene Elizabeth, in her life; being*

vndoubtedly those faithful Subiects that now ho-  
nor and affect our most potent Lord, King  
*James, after her death.*

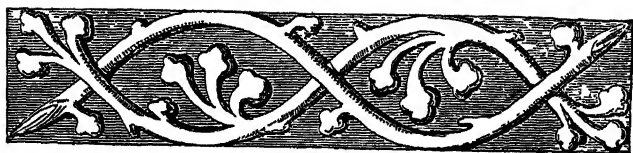
4

**M**Y Epistle to you, is like the little Towne that the  
Cynicke would haue perswaded the Citizens was  
ready to runne out at the great gates, being 8  
scarce so long as the Title. In a word, the negligence of  
many better able, hath made mee bolde to write a small  
Epitomie, touching the abundant Vertues of Elizabeth our  
late sacred Mistris. Intreating of her Princely birth, chaste 12  
life, royall gouernement, and happie death; being a Lady  
borne, liuing, raigning, dying, all for Englandes good. The  
manner is handled betweene Shepherdes, the forme of speach  
like the persons, rude: Affection exceedeth Eloquence, and I 16  
haue not shewne much Arte; but exprest the dutie of a louing  
heart: Shedd some teares in reading our Shepherds forrow;  
and in that true pafsion, let your loue to our royall Lord be

shewne: who hateth hypocrites, as iust men Hell. Farewell  
all of you that giue the dead Queene a sad Farewell, and the  
liuing King a glad Welcome; the rest are Time-pleasers, and  
4 I write not to them.

*Fœlicem fuisse infaustum.*





## Englands Mourning Garment.

*Wrought by plaine Shepherdes, for the  
death of that most excellent Empresse Elizabeth, 4  
Queene of Vertue, while she liued ; and Theame  
of Sorrow, being dead.*

THE NOT. COLLIN.

*Thenot.* 8



*Ollin*, thou look'st as lagging as the day  
When the Sun setting toward his western bed,  
Shews, that like him, all glory must decay,  
And frolicke life with murkie cloudes o're-spred, 12

Shall leaue all earthly beautie mongst the dead ;  
Such is the habite of thy new aray :

Why art thou not preparede to welcome Maie,  
In whose cleere Moone thy yonglings shall be fed, 16  
With nights sweetes dewes, and open flowers of day ?

*Collin.*

I answere thee with woe and welaway,  
I am in fable clad, fith she cannot be had 20  
That me and mine did glad ;

there's all I'll say.

*Thenot.*

Well spoken Swaine, let me thy sorrowe ken, 24  
Rich soule, though wrong'd by idle Antike men,  
And driuen by falshood to a cloudy den,  
Tell me thy grieffe.

*Collin.*

O it is past reliefe ; and which is worst of worst,

Bayards and beaſts accuſt, with groſeſt flattery nurſt :

4 Haue fung her sacred name, and prais'd her to their thame,  
Who was our last and first.

*Thenot.*

Deere Collin, doe not checke the humblest song,

8 The will is euer maister of the worke,

Those that can fing, haue done all Shepheards wrong,

Like lozels in their cotages to lurke:

The aire's the aire, though it be thicke and murke:

12 If they to whom true Pastoralls belong,

In needefull layes, vse neither pipe nor tong,

Shall none the vertuous raise ?

*Collin.*

16 Yes, those that merit Bayes,

Though teares refraine their layes,

Some weeping houres or dayes

will finde a time

<sup>20</sup> To honor Honor ftit : not with a rural quail,

But with the foule of skil,

to bleffe their rime.

Aye me! why should I dote

on rimes, on songs, or note,

Confusion can best quote,

sacred *Elizæa* loffe,

Whofe praife doth grace al verfe,

28                      that shal the same reherse,

No gold neede decke her herse ;

to her al gold is droffe.

With that, *Collin* in discontent, brake his pipe, and in that passion, 32 as if his heart had beene like his Pipe, parted each piece from the other, hee fel without sense on the earth, not then insensible of his forrow; for it yielded, wept and groaned at once with his fal, his weepings and his sighs. Poore *Th.* shewted for help; at whose cal

came some Nymphs full of sorrow for their Soueraigne; and no whit amazed to see him lie as dead, their hearts were so dead, with thinking of that which had astonished his. But yet, as gathering of companies draw more & more to wonder, so proved it among the shepherds, 4 that left none but their cures to attend their flocks, themselves flocking about *Thenot & Collin*, who now recovered from his trance, and al asking the reason of this griefe, with teares abounding in his eyes, that likewise drew more abundantly from theirs, he distractedly 8 answered,

*Illum nec enim reprehendere fas est,  
Qui fleat hanc, cuius fregerunt flamina parcae,  
Solus honor sequitur mortales ille misellos.*

12

And therewithall making a signe for the Shepherdes and Nymphes to sit downe, hee tolde them, they had lost that sacred Nymph, that careful Shepherdesse *ELIZA*; but if it pleased them to lend attention, he would repeat something of her, worth memorie, that should live 16 in despite of death: whereupon a still silence seized them al, saving onely now and then, by sighing they expressed their hearts sorrow: and *Collin* thus beganne.

Seeing Honor onely followeth mortals, and the works of the 20 virtuous die not with their deaths, and yet those workes neuertheless with the honors and rites due to the departed, might be much blemished, if there were no gratitude in their successors: let vs poore Rurals (though no other wayes able to erect Statues for our late 24 dread Soueraigne, worthy al memory,) among our selves repeat part of her excellent Graces, and our benefite obtained by her Government: for, to reckon all, were *Opus infinitum*, a labour without end.

She was the vndoubted issue of two royall princes, *Henry of Lan* 28 *caster* and *Elizabeth of Yorke*. In whose vnion the quiet of vs poore Swaines began: for till that blessed marriage, *England* was a shambles of slaughtered men: so violent was the blood of ambition, so potent the factions, and so implacable their heads; whose eyes were neuer 32 cleared till they were washt in blood, euen in the deare blood of their Obiects hearts. This King, Grandfather to our late Queene, was the

first Brittiſh King, that many a hundred yeares before wore the Emperiall Diademe of *England, France* and *Ireland*: in him began the name of *Tewther*, deſcended from the ancient Brittiſh Kings, to flouriſh ;  
 4 the iſſue male of royal *Plantagenet* ending in his beginning: his wife, Graundmother to our late *Elizabeth*, being the laſt *Plantagenet*, whoſe Temples were here circled with a ſphere of golde. Which King and Queene liued and loved, and now lie intoombed in that  
 8 moſt famous Chappell, built at his Kingly charge in the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*: King *Henry*, dying in a good age, left *England* rich, beautifull, and full of peace; and ſo bleſſt with his iſſue, after royally matcht to *Scotland & France*, beſides his vndoubted heire King *Henry*  
 12 of famous memory the eight; that no Kingdome in the earth more flouriſhed.

His ſonne, the Father of our *Elizabeth*, was to his Enemies dreadfull, to his friends gracious, vnder whoſe Enſigne the Emperour himſelfe  
 16 ſeru'd: ſo potent a Prince He was: beſides, ſo liberal and bounteous, that he ſeemed like the Sunne in his Meridian, to ſhowre downe gold round about the Horizon: But hee dide too, and left vs three Princely hopes; all which haue ſeuerally ſucceeded other, royally  
 20 maintaining the right of *England*, and reſiſted all forraine wrong.

For King *Edward* our late Soueraignes Brother, though he died yong in yeares, left inſtance hee was no Infant in vertues; his learning, towardnes and zeale, was thought fitter for the ſocietie of Angels  
 24 than men, with whome no doubt his ſpirit lues eternally.

Such affurance haue we of the happineſſe of that royall gracious and worthy Ladie *Mary* his eldeſt ſiſter: who in her death expreſſt the care of her Kingdomes, ſo much lamenting one Townes loſſe,  
 28 that ſhee told her attendant Ladies, if they would rippe her heart when ſhe was dead, they ſhould finde *Callice* written in it. O *Thenot*, with all you other Nymphs and Swaines, learne by this wortheie Queene, the care of Soueraignes, how heart-ficke they are for their  
 32 ſubiects loſſe; and thinke what felicitie we poore wormes liue in, that haue ſuch royall Patrons, who carke for our peace, that we may quietly eate the bread of our owne labor, tend our flockes in ſafety, asking of vs nothing but feare and duety, which humanity allowes,  
 36 and heauen commands.

With this, *Thenot* interrupted *Collin*, telling him, there were a number of true shepheards miliked that *Princes* life, and ioyed greatly at her death: withall, beginning to shew some reasons, but *Collin* quickly interrupted him in these words:

4

*Peace, Thenot, peace, Princes are sacred things ;  
It fits not Swaines to thinke amisse of Kings.*

For, saith he, the faults of Rulers (if any be faultie) are to be reprehended by them that can amend them; and seeing none is 8  
superiour to a King but God, to him alone referre their actions. And where thou termest them true shepheards that so envied that Ladies gouvernement, thou art deceiued, they are still as they then were, prowd phanatike spirited counterfaites, expert in nothing but 12  
ignorance, such as hate all rule: for who resisteth correction more than fooles, though they deferue it most? Beleeue me, *Thenot*, and all you well affected Swaines, there is no greater marke for a true shepherd to be knowne by, than Humilitie, which, God he knowes, those mad men 16  
most want; too much experience haue we of their threed-bare pride, who bite the dead, as liuing cures may lions: not contented with their scandals of that Royall Lady, our late Soueraignes Sisters, but they haue troubled the cleare springs of our Mistresse *Elizabeths* 20  
blest gouernement: nay, my selfe haue seene & heard with glowing eares, some of them, euen in the fields of *Calydon*, when his Excellence that is now our emperiall Shepherd, was onely Lord of their foldes, speake of his Maiestie more audaciously and malapertly, than any of vs would 24  
doe of the meanest officer. For as I saide euen now, if Rulers chance to slip, it is most vnufferable, that euery impudent rayler should with the breath of his mouth stirre the chaffie multitude, whose eares itch for nouelties, whose mindes are as their numbers, diuerse: not able to 28  
iudge themselves, much lesse their soueraignes. But they ought, if they be true Pastors, to folow the great *Pan*, the Father of al good shepheards, Christ, who teacheth euery of his Swaines to tell his brother priuately of his fault, and againe, and againe,—by that glorious 32  
number, three, including numbers numberlesse,—before it be told the Church. If then they must, being true shepheards, deale so with

their brethren, how much more ought their folowers do to their Soueraigns, being Kings and Queenes? And not in the place where sacred and morall manners should be taught, contrarily to teach the  
 4 rude to be more vmannerly, instructing euery Punie to compare with the most reuerend Prelate, and by that example to haue euery Cobler account himselfe a King.

Oh, saide *Thenot*, *Collin*, there are some would il thinke of you,  
 8 should they heare you thus talke, for they reprove all out of zeale, and must spare none.

Peace to thy thoughts, *Thenot*, answered *Collin*, I know thou knowest there is a zeale that is not with knowledge acquainted; but  
 12 let them and their madde zeale passe; let vs forget their railings against Princes: And beginne with her beginning, after her Royall Sisters ending, who departing from this earthly kingdome the seauenteenth of Nouember in the yeare of our Lord 1558. immediately there-  
 16 upon, *Elizabeth*, the hand maide to the Lord of Heauen, and Empresse of all Maides, Mothers, youth and men then liuing in this English Earth, was proclaimed Queene with generall applause; being much pittied, for that busie slander and respectlesse enuy had not long before  
 20 brought her into the disfaueur of her royall Sifter *Mary*, whom we last remembred: In the continuance of whose displeasure, stil stil made greater by some great Enemies, how she scap't, needs no repeating, being so wel knowne. Preserued shee was from the violence of death;  
 24 her blood was precious in the sight of G O D, as is the blood of al his Saints; it was too deare to be powred out like water on the greedy earth; she liued, and wee haue liued vnder her, fortie and odde yeres, so wonderfully blest, that all Nations haue wondred at their owne  
 28 afflictions and our prosperitie; and she dyed as she liued with vs, still careful of our peace; finishing euen then the greatest wonder of all, our deserts considered, by appointing the Kingdome to so iust and lawfull a Ruler to succeede her: whom all true English knew for their  
 32 vndoubted Lord, immediately after her death. But lest we end ere we begin, I wil returne to her: who being seated in the Throne of Maiestie, adorned with al the vertues diuine and moral, appeared to vs like a goodly Pallace where the Graces kept their seuerall man-  
 36 fions.



First, faith abundantly shone in her, then yong, and lost not her brightnesse in her age, for she beleueed in her Redeemer, her trust was in the King of Kings, who preferued her, as the Apple of his eye, from all treacherous attempts, as many being made against her life, as 4  
against any Princeesse that euer liued: yet she was stil confident in her Sauour, whose name she glorified in all her actions, confessing her victories, preferuings, dignities, to be all his, as appeared by many luculent examples, this one seruing for the rest, that after the dissipa- 8  
tion of the Spanish Armato accounted inuincible, she came in person to *Paules* crosse, and there, among the meanest of her people, confessed, *Non nobis Domine, non nobis; sed nomini tuo Gloria.* And as she was euer constant in cherishing that faith wherein shee was from 12  
her infancie nourisht, so was shee faithful of her word, with her people, and with forraine nations. And albeit I know some (too humorously affected to the Roman gouernement) make a question in this place, whether her highnesse first brake not the truce with the King of 16  
*Spaine*: to that I could answere, (were it pertinent to mee in this place, or for a poore shepheard to talke of state,) with vnreprouable truths, that her highnes suffred many wrongs before she left off the league. 20

O, faith *Thenot*, in some of those wrongs resolute vs, and thinke it no vnfitting thing, for thou that hast heard the songs of that warlike Poet *Philesides*, good *Melæbee*, and smooth tongued *Melicert*, tell vs what thou hast obserued in their sawes, seene in thy owne experience, 24  
and heard of vndoubted truths touching those accidents: for that they adde, I doubt not, to the glory of our *Eliza*.

To this entreatie *Collin* condescended, and thus spake. It is not vnknownen the Spaniard, a mighty nation, abounding with treasure, 28  
being warres sinewes, torne from the bowels of Mines, fetcht from the sands of Indian Riuers, by the miserable captiued natiues, haue purposed to be Lordes of *Europe*. *France* they haue attempted and failed in, *Nauarre* they haue greatly distrest, *Lumbardy* the garden of the 32  
world, they are possessed of: *Naples* and *Sicilie*, *Sardinia*, *Corsica*, are forced to obey their lawes: and that they reckoned *England* should be theirs, with such small ease, euen in a maner with threatening, their Songs, taught little infants from *Andoloria* to *Galixia*, are witnesse. 36

The dice were cast : her Maiesties Subiects craftily put into the Inquisition vpon euery small colour : if they scaped, which seldome sorted out so wel, aliue, could of their goods haue no restitution. Their King  
 4 gaue penfions to our Queenes Rebellious fugitiue subiectes, and not onely to such, that in regard of their Religion fled the land, but vnto such as had attempted to resist her in actiue rebellion : and yet not staying there, out of his treasury proposed rewards for sundry to attempt  
 8 the murder of her sacred person : of which perfidious guilt she neuer was tainted : let any Spaniard, or Spanish affected English, proue where she euer hired, abetted, or procured any such against their kings Maiestie, and I wil yeeld to be esteemed as false as falsehood it selfe :  
 12 nay, they cannot deny, but that euen with the Rebels of her Realme of *Ireland*, stird vp to barbarous and inhumane outrages by the Spanish policie, shee hath no way dealt but by faire and laudable warre.

But before I enter into her Maiesties lenitie in that Irish warre,  
 16 against fundry knowne Rebels, and punishing some of her subiects, that vpon a zeale to her, or perchance, to get themselues a glorie, aduentured their owne liues by trecherie to cut off the liues of some great Leaders of the Rebels, I wil a little digresse, lest I should be  
 20 thought, after her death, to maintaine the fire of hate, which I euer in heart desired might honourably be quencht, betweene these potent Kingdomes of *England* and *Spaine*.

I wish all that reade this, to bury old wrongs, & to pray that it  
 24 would please G o d of his inestimable mercie, to roote out all malice from Christian Nations : and, as our Royall Soueraigne now raiguing, hath conserued league and peace with al Princes, so, for the weale of Christendome, it may more and more increafe, that the open enemies  
 28 of Christ may the better be repelled from those wealthy Kingdomes in the East, where they haue many hundred yeares most barbarously tyrannized : for no man doubts, but the blood shed within these thirtie yeares, as well of English, as Scottish, Spanish, Dutch, and Portugall,  
 32 in the quarrell of Religion, might, if G o d had so beene pleased, bin able to haue driuen the heathen Monarch from his neereft holde in *Hungaria*, to the fal of *Danubia* in the *Euxine* sea, especially with the assistance of the French that haue cruelly false, either vpon others  
 36 swords.

But I trust God hath suffered this offence, to adde more glory to our mighty King, that hee should be the most famous of al his predeceffors, as indeed he is the most mightie, and hath beene raised to this Realme as a Sauour, to deliuer *England*, and make it more 4 abundant in blessings, when many lookt it should haue had al her glory swallowed vp of spoile.

The highnesse of his emperial place, greatnesse of his blood, mightnesse of his alliance, but most, his constancy in the true profession of 8 Religion, euen amid my sorrowes, *Thenot*, fil me with ioyes : when I consider how a number that gaped for our destruction, haue their mouths shut close, yet emptie where they thought to eate the sweetes of our painefull sweate : but God be praised, as I saide before, her 12 Highnesse that ruled vs many yeeres in peace, left vs, in her death, more secure, by committing vs to our lawful Prince, matcht to a royal fruitful Lady, that hath borne him such hopeful issue, that the dayes we lately feared, I trust are as farre off, as this instant is, from the 16 end of al earthly times : who shal not onely, with their royall father, maintaine these his kingdomes in happy peace, but subiect more vnder him, and spreade the banners of Christ in the face of misbelieuers.

20

In this hope I here breake off, and returne to our late Soueraignes care of keeping Faith, euen toward her Rebel subiects, which I wil manifest in some two or three examples of the Irish.

When the *Oneale*, in the time of that memorable Gentleman Sir 24 *Henry Sidney* his Deputie-ship of *Ireland*, was mightily strenghtned in his Country, and so potent, that the Deputie had many dangerous and vnadvantageable skirmishes against him ; A seruant of her Maiesties, one *Smith*, thinking to doe a worthy peece of seruice, by 28 poysoning the *Oneale*, prepared a little bottle, parted in the middest ; one side containing good wine, the other with tempered poyson of the same colour, and that he carries to the *Oneale*, vnder colour of gratification for that his armie lay farre from the Sea, or Marchantable 32 Townes, and hee thought Wine was vnto him very daintie : which the *Oneale* accepted kindly, for that the saide *Smith* was borne in the *Oneales* Countrey : and such the Irish doe especially, and before

others, trust to bring messages, euen from their greatest enemies, vnder whome they serue.

But the deceit being quickly spide, *Smyth* was by the *O'Neill* sent  
4 bound to the Deputie, to whose plot hee would faine haue imputed  
the same practise : but contrarily, the Deputie publikely punished the  
said *Smyth*, and her Maiestie refus'd him for her seruant ; saying, she  
would keepe none neare her that would deale trecherously, no, though  
8 it were against traitors.

The like example was showne on an other that would haue  
attempted the poisoning of *Rory Og*, a bloody and dangerous Rebelle.

To which may be added, that her Highnesse, among other trespasses,  
12 objected by her Attorney against a conuicted Deputie, was, that he  
went about by poyson to haue tooke away the life of *Feff Mac Hue*,  
a Rebelle more immane & barbarous than any of the other two : the  
Lord chiefe Iustice of the Common Pleas (yet liuing) opening at the  
16 same time, how iust a spirit her Maiestie was possessed with, that shee  
hated treason, euen to traitors ; much more, then, to annointed Kings,  
whose honors and reputations she so maintained, that shee not long  
since punished by fine and imprisonment, a wealthy railer, for  
20 vnreuerent words spoken against the person of king *Philip*, her open  
and professed enemy : So faithfull, so iust, so gracious was she.

And to make it more plaine, that *Spaine* intended England the first  
wrong, so long time before it was muttered ; but after that memorable  
24 battell of *Lepanto*, wherein *Don Iohn* of *Austria* obtained the trium-  
phant Christian victorie against the Turkes ; to rewarde him, England  
was the kingdom set downe, being then in her Maiesties possession :  
but hee had it, when they could giue him it that promised the same,  
28 which was at latter *Lammas*. And I trust his Neece shall haue as  
good successe, with her pretended title. For if God strengthened her  
Maiestie so, that against her, being a woman, they could not preuaile,  
we trust his Almightinesse will be as carefull of our King, being  
32 already Lord of three such people as haue seldome bene equalled in  
battell, except they haue unnaturally contended among themselues :  
the fight of which day, deare shepherds, let vs pray neuer againe to  
see. Besides, to expresse her farther intent : to preserue faith and  
36 league, notwithstanding infinite of open wrongs, and certaine

knowledge that a Nauie for inuasion of this Realme had bene preparing more than fifteene yeare; yet did she beare, vntill against all lawe of Nations, the Ambaffador liedger of *Spaine*, honoured with many fauours, did notwithstanding plot and confeder with natieue 4 traitors of this land; and the matter being apparantly proued, hee was by her milde fufferance admitted to depart the Realme, without any violence: to his perpetuall reproach, and her neuer dying glorie. Well, I will here conclude touching this vertue of faith both towarde 8 God and man: she was as firme in the one as mortalitie coulde bee; and in the other, approued glorious among all the Princes of her time.

For Hope, the second diuine vertue, she rather therin abounded, 12 than was any way wanting; for her Hope was no way wandring: she beleued, and it came to passe; her enemies arise, but before their arising, shee was certaine to see them fall; shee hauing, by example of things past, nothing doubted of things to come. And she was not 16 deceiued till the houre of her death. For euer her expectation was fulfilled; she kept peace within, chafed the spoyler without; and euen as it is sung of *Epaminondas*, that valiant Theban Captaine, in his last victorious battell, wherein yet death of him got victorie, he thus 20 gloried: Herein am I comforted, that I dye a conquerour. For euen when death laid his last siege to her yet vnvanquished life, *Tyrone*, the long disturber of her State, besought mercie at her feete. O Nymphs and Shepheards, doubt not she was full of diuine Hope, whose heart 24 obtained euer the thing it faithfully desired: and that her desires were all of faith, I could adde infinite examples to these alreadie alledged, but that it is needeleffe to cast water in the Sea, or to make question of that all men knowe, and will confesse, except some whose heartes 28 are straungers from *Truth*, and the professed Receptacles of falsehood.

Her Charitie, the thirde and principall diuine Grace to the eye of mortalls: (for that Faith and Hope bend principally their seruice to 32 Heauen, and Charities effectes are manifested on earth) hath bene extended ouer all her Realmes, and stretched to the comfort of her oppressed neighbours. The multitudes of poore daily relieued from her purse, the numbers of sicke persons yearly visited, and by her 36

owne hand their corrupt fores toucht, the washing of poore womens feete, and releeuing their wants, was a signe that she was humble, as well as charitable: for Humilitie is Charities sister; they are two twins borne at one time; & as they are borne together in any soule whateuer, so doe they liue and die together: the humble spirit being euer charitable, and the charitable euer humble: for it is as impossible to haue a proud man charitable, as to reconcile fier and water; or to make accord betweene any contraries. As she was in these particulars, exceeding all Ladies of her time, giuen to this helpfull vertue, so had she general impositions through all her kingdome, for her well able subiects to follow her example: and so much did her example preuaile, that besides the ordinary and weekly almes distributed through the Realme, there haue beene more particular Almes-houses builded for the reliefe of the aged, than in any fixe Princes Raignes before. And as all parts of England haue in this imitation bene very forward: so hath the Citie of London exceeded all; wherein diuers priuate men haue builded sundry houses for the poore, and allowed them pensions: but the Corporations haue bene most bountifull, as most able: and among all, the Right worshipfull the Merchant Taylors haue exceeded the rest; all hauing done well, that haue done any thing, but they best of any other, as I will one day, in a song of liberal Shepheards, thankfully expresse: though for my selfe I know him not in the least gift to whom I am in that sort bounden; but I ken not, *Thenot*, how I may, for there is none liuing but may lacke. As the Citie, so many knights, Gentlemen, honourable and deuout persons, haue followed her example: aboue the rest, an honorable, carefull, reuerend and learned watchman, as full of mildnesse and pietie, as he is of yeares and greefes for his good and royall Mistres losse; within few miles of this Citie, hath builded a worthy Receptacle to the like charitable end.

As for the poore and decrepit with age, her Royall Maiestie had this charitable care; so for soldiers, and futers, she was very prouident. The last, being oppressed in any part of her Realmes by men of much wealth and little conscience, she allowd them counsell and proceedings in *Forma pauperis*, & maintenance weekly in the Termes, for some part of their succour. For fouldiers, and men

of seruice, her decrees of prouision are extant: besides, it is most cleare, no Prince in the world, to land- or Sea-men, was more bountifull or willing, than her Highnesse: out of her Coffers it went; but there is an olde Prouerbe, *Thenot*, carriage is deare: and I haue 4 heard, but I will stand to nothing; base Ministers, and vnder officers, curtall the liberalities of great and potent masters. Some haue in her time beene taken with the manner, and, besides bodily punishment and, fines, displaced: as I well remember, and cannot omit amid my 8 greefe to tell, though somewhat from this subiect it dissent, being of a fellow too meane: how her highnesse, in one of her progresse, walking in the garden of a house where she was receiued, being somewhat neere the high waie, heard on a fodaine, a market woman cry: and 12 from an Arbour beheld one of her owne seruants, a Taker vp of prouision, vse the woman vnciuilly: whereupon the cause being examined, and the poore woman found by the same fellowe to be wrongd, as well afore as then, her highnesse causd him presently to be 16 dischargd of her seruice and punished: yet the fault being but slight, the Taker was countenanced to make sute to be restord: and some halfe yeare after, fell downe before her Maiestie, desiring mercie and restoring: her highnesse, pitying his distresse, commaunded him to 20 be prouided for in some place where he could not wrong her poore subiects, but in any case not to make him a Taker. Many such false ones she hath punished with death. I could in this, as all the rest, reckon multitudes of examples, but I will knit all vp with her Excel- 24 lence in this Act of Charitie extended to her neighbours: whom she hath by her bountie deliuered from the tyrannie of oppression, & aided the right of others against rebellious subiects: others, assisted to recouer their kingdoms, not sparing millions to sustaine the quarrell of 28 the righteous. The reward of which mercy & charitie she now finds, receiuing infinite glories for her abounding Charitie, being done for his cause that leaueth no deed of mercie vnrecompenced.

As she was richly stored with diuine graces, so, in morall vertues, 32 no Princeesse euer liuing in the earth can be remembred to exceede her. Her wisdome was, without question, in her life by any vnequallled, she was sententious, yet gracious in speech; So expert in Languages that she answered most Embassadors in their natie tongues: her 36

capacitie was therewith so apprehenſiue, and inuention ſo quicke, that if any of them had gone beyonde their bounds, with maieſtie vndaunted ſhe would haue limited them within the verge of their 4 dueties, as ſhe did royally, wiſely, and learnedly, the laſt ſtruting *Poland* meſſenger, that thought with ſtalking lookes and ſwelling words to daunt her vndaunted Excellence. But as he came proud, he returned not without repentance: hauing no other wrong here, but 8 the finne of his own fauſineſſe.

Many ſuch examples I could ſet downe, but I will ſatiſſie you with one more. When the Spaniards hauing their *Armathe* ready, temporifde with her highnes Commiſſioners in the low Countries, thinking 12 to finde her highneſſe vnprovided; at laſt, when they accounted all ſure, they ſent her their Kings choyce, either of peace or warre, wittily included in foure Latine verſes: portending, that if ſhe would ceaſe to defend the low Countries, reſtore the goods taken by reſpriſall from 16 the Spaniards, build vp the Religious houſes diuerted in her Fathers time, and let the Romane Religion be receiued through her Land; why then ſhe might haue peace: if not, it was too late to expect any. Which proud commaunding Embaſſie, with royall magnanimitie, 20 gracious wiſedome, and fluent wit, ſhe answered inſtantly in one knowne prouerbiall line, which ſhe ſodenly made into a Verſe.

*Ad Græcas hæc ſiant mandata Kalendas.*

O *Thenot*, did not aſſurance of our kingly Poets loue to the Muſes, 24 ſomewhat comfort me, I ſhould vtterly diſpaire euer to heare Paſtoricall ſong againe, ſild with any conceit; ſeeing her Excellence, whoſe braine being the *Hellicon* of all our beſt and quaint inuentions, is dried vp by the ineuitable heate of death.

28 Her iuſtice was ſuch, as neuer any could truly complaine of her; neither did ſhee pardon faults unpardonable, as murder, rape, Sodomy, that ſin almoſt not to bee namde: neither was there in her time (with her knowledge) extremitie of iuſtice ſhowne to other male- 32 factors: if any ſuch did fall, it was either by falſhood or malice of the euidence, or ſome other ſecret wherewith poore Shepheards are vnacquainted: onely this we are taught: that God ſometime puniſheth the finnes of parents on their children, to many generations. 36 But for her ſelfe, ſhe was alwayes ſo enclined toe quitie, that if ſhe



left Iustice in any part, it was in shewing pittie: as in one generall punishment for murder it appeared: whereas before-time there was extraordinary torture, as hanging wilfull murderers alieue in chaines; shee, hauing compassion, like a true Shepheardeesse, of their soules, 4 though they were of her erring and vtterly infected flocke, said their death satisfied for death: and life for life, was all could be demanded: and affirming more, that much torture distracted a dying man: in particular, she saued many; among some vnworthy of her mercie, that 8 proud fellow, who vniustly named himselfe Doctor *Parry*, and another, as I remember, called *Patrick* an Irish man: the first hauing offended in *Burglary*, against a Lawier able and willing to take away his life, thereto vrged by many misdemeanours: and for that *Parry* 12 doubted his attempt to kill, & act of felony was without compasse of pardon, considering the place where it was done, and against whom, thought a lease of life safest, which of her benigne mercie he obtained for 21. yeares; but ere three of them were past, he did vnnaturally 16 attempt her death that had giuen him life; for which traiterous ingratitude he worthily was cut off: the Irish man likewise being pardoned for a manslaughter, proued as vnthankfull, and ended as he liued, shamefully. Besides, she was so inclinable to mercie, that her 20 iust and seuerer Iudges tolde her, how some desperate malefactors, building on friends, and hopes of pardon, carde not for offending, but euen scoffed at authoritie; wherof when she heard, shee tooke speciall care, considering it was as great iniustice to pittie some, as spare 24 others, taking order to signe no pardon, except the Iudges hand were at it first, which truly knew the cause why the partie was condemned: by which meanes, murderers and presumptuous offenders were cut off from all hope. 28

One notable example of her iustice among many I will here remember: Certaine condemned for Piracie, hauing made some ende with them they wronged, lay for their liues at her mercie; and the Iudge of her Admiraltie hauing signified fauourably of the qualitie of 32 their offence, she was moued to pittie them, and had commanded their pardon to be drawne. In the meane time two of them, trained vp in the fashion of our common Cutters, that I may tell thee, *Thenot*, swarme rather like diuels than men about the cuntry, that sweare as 36

if they had licenſe to blaſpheme, and ſtabbe men as if they had  
 authoritie; nay, ſometime themſelues for very trifles: two ſuch, I ſay,  
 were in the company of theſe condemned Pyrates, hourelly hoping for  
 4 their liues: and brauing either other of their manhood, ſaying, one  
 durſt more than the other: the eldeſt, being Maiſter of their late ſhip  
 wherein they had failed to that place of ſorrow, ſlyces his owne fleſh  
 with a knife, aſking the other if he durſt doo as much: the yonker  
 8 was very readie, and two or three times followed the olde foole, in that  
 deſperate wounding of himſelfe. This brutiſh acte being committed  
 in the priſon belonging to her Maieſties owne houſe, came quickly to  
 her royall eare, and ſome fewe dayes after, their pardon to be ſigned;  
 12 who graciouſly gaue life to all the reſt; but commaunded them by  
 expreſſe name to execution, ſaying, they were vnworthy mercie, that  
 of themſelues had none: adding, it was very likely, that ſuch as in a  
 priſon, and in their ſtate, would be ſo cruell to ſhead their owne  
 16 bloud, would haue ſmall compaſſion of others whom they ouercame  
 at Sea; and ſo leauing them to the lawe, they were worthily exe-  
 cuted.

Of her mercie nothing can be ſaide more, but that it equalled, or  
 20 rather as I ſaid before, exceeded her iuſtice. Among infinite numbers  
 whom ſhe pardoned, that one eſpecially being a cleare witneſſe, who  
 ſhot the Gunne off againſt *Greenwich*, euen into her Maieſties Barge,  
 hurt the next man to her, at broade daylight; almoſt impoſſible to be  
 24 excuſed by negligence or ignorance; for that any man, hauing his  
 peece charged, would rather vpon retyring home, haue diſcharged it  
 among the Reedes, than toward the bredth of the Riuer, whoſe ſiluer  
 breſt continually bore vp a number of veſſels, wherein men paſſed on  
 28 fundrie affaires. How euer wilfull or vnwilfull the acte was, done it  
 was; and by a Iurie he was found guiltie, and adiudged to die: toward  
 execution hee was ledde with ſuch clamour and iniuries of the multi-  
 tude, as ſildome any the like hath bene ſeene or heard; ſo hainous  
 32 and odious his offence appeared vnto them, that, being vpon the ladder  
 readie to be caſt off, the common people had no pittie of him: when  
 euen iuſt in that moment of diſpaire and death, her Maieſtie ſent a  
 gracious pardon, which deliuered him, to all mens wonder. I want  
 36 but the Arcadian Shepheards inchaunting phraſe of ſpeaking, that was

many times witnesse to her iust mercies, and mercifull iustice: yet rude as I am, I haue presumed to handle this excellent Theame, in regard the Funerall hastens on, of that sometime most Serene Lady, and yet I see none, or at least past one or two, that haue sung any 4 thing since her departure worth the hearing; and of them, they that are best able, scarce remember her Maiestie. I cannot now forget the excellent and cunning *Collin* indeed; (for alas, I confesse my selfe too too rude,) complaining that a liberal *Mecænas* long since dying, was 8 immediately forgotten, euen by those that liuing most laboured to aduance his fame; and these as I thinke close part of his songs:

Being dead, no Poet seekes him to reuiue,  
Though many Poets flattred him aliue.

12

Somewhat like him, or at least to that purpose, of a person more excellent, though in ruder verse, I speake.

Death now hath ceaz'd her in his ycie armes,  
That sometime was the Sun of our delight :  
And pittileffe of any after-harmes,  
Hath veyld her glory in the cloude of night.

16

Nor doth one Poet seeke her name to raise,  
That liuing, houely striu'd to sing her praise.  
He that so well could sing the fatall strife  
Betweene the royall Roses White and Red,  
That praif'd so oft *Eliza* in her life,

20

His Muse seemes now to dye, as shee is dead :

24

Thou sweetest song-man of all English swaines,  
Awake for shame, honour ensues thy paines.

But thou alone deferu'dst not to be blame'd :

He that sung fortie yeares her life and birth,

28

And is by English Albions so much fam'd,  
For sweete mixt layes of maiestie with mirth,

Doth of her losse take now but little keepe;

Or else I gesse he cannot sing, but weepe.

32

Neither doth *Coryn* full of worth and wit,  
That finish'd dead *Musæus* gracious song,

With grace as great, and words, and verse as fit ;  
Chide meager death for dooing vertue wrong :

- 4       He doth not seeke with songs to deck her herse,  
Nor make her name liue in his liuely verse.  
Nor does our English *Horace*, whose steele pen  
Can drawe Characters which will neuer die,  
Tell her bright glories vnto listning men ;  
8       Of her he seemes to haue no memorie.

- His Muse an other path desires to tread,  
      True Satyres scourge the liuing, leaue the dead.  
Nor doth the siluer tonged *Melicert*,  
12      Drop from his honied muse one fable teare  
To mourne her death that graced his desert,  
And to his laies opene her Royall eare.

- Shepherd, remember our *Elizabeth*,  
16      And sing her Rape, done by that *Tarquin*, Death.  
No lesse doe thou (sweete finger *Coridon*) ;  
The Theame exceedeth *Edwards Isabell*,  
Forget her not in *Poly-Albion* ;  
20      Make some amends, I know thou loudst her well.

- Thinke twas a fault to haue thy Verses seene  
      Praising the King, ere they had mournd the Queen.  
And thou delicious sportiue *Musidore*,  
24      Although thou haue resignd thy wreath of Bay,  
With Cypresse bind thy temples, and deplore  
*Elizas* winter in a mournfull Lay :

- I know thou canst, and none can better sing  
28      Herse songs for her, and *Pæans* to our King.  
Quicke *Antihorace*, though I place thee heere,  
Together with yong *Mælibee* thy frend :

- And *Heroes*<sup>1</sup> last *Musæus*, all three deere,  
32      All such whose vertues highly I commend :  
[<sup>1</sup> Orig. *Hewres*.  
See p. 112, 'To  
the Reader.']

- Proue not ingrate to her that many a time  
      Hath stoopt her Maiestie, to grace your rime.  
And thou that scarce hast fligd thy infant muse  
36      (I vse thine owne word), and commend thee best,

In thy proclayming *Iames*: the rest misvie  
 The name of Poetry, with lines vnblest;  
 Holding the Muses to be masculine.  
 I quote no such abfurditie in thine. 4  
 Thee doe I thanke for will; thy worke let paffe:  
 But with some of the former had first writ,  
 That, from their Poems, like reflecting glaffe  
 Steeld with the puritie of Art and wit, 8  
*Eliza* might haue liude in euery eye,  
 Alwaies beheld till Time and Poems dye.  
 But ceafe you Goblins, and you vnder Elues,  
 That with rude rimes and meeters reasonlesse, 12  
 Fit to be sung for such as your base felues,  
 Prefume to name the Muses Patronesse:  
 Keepe your low Spheres; she hath an Angell spirit:  
 The learnedst Swaine can hardly sing her merit. 16  
 Onely her brother King, the Muses trust  
 (Blood of her Grandfires blood, plac'd in her Throne)  
 Can raife her glory from the bed of dust:  
 To praise her worth belongs to Kings alone. 20  
 In him shall we behold her Maiestie,  
 In him her vertue liues and cannot die.

At this, *Thenot* and the rest desirde him to proceede in his discourfe of her  
 vertues; remembring where he left, at Iustice; and though the matter 24  
 pleafd them so well that they could indure the hearing many daies,  
 yet seeing the Sunne began to dye the West Sea with vermilion  
 tincture, the pallace of the morning being hidden in fable clouds, &  
 that the care of their flockes must be respected, requested him to be 28  
 as breefe, as the time limited him.

To which *Collin* answered: *Thenot*, I perceiue thou art as all or  
 the most part of the world is, carefull onely of thine own: and how  
 euer friends fall, yet profit must be respected. Well, thou dost well; 32  
 and in this I dubbly praise thee: to carke for sheepe and lambs that  
 cannot tend themfelues, & not to mourne as without hope our great  
 Shepheardeffe, who, after long life and glory on earth, hath obtained

a longer and more glorious life in heauen. But to proceede. As she was constant in faith, stedfast in hope, cheerefull in giuing, prudent in speaking, iust in punishing, but most mercifull in pardoning, so, for  
 4 the third morrall vertue, Temperance, there was in no age before, a woman so exalted to earthly honour euer read off; that so long, so gratioufly, in outward & domestick affaires gouerned her kingdom, familie, & person, with like moderation.

8 First, for her kingdome: what can be deuised more neere the meane, than she hath in all things followed? For in religion as in other things, there hath beene an extreame erring from the truth, which like all vertues, (being indeede the head of all) keepeth place  
 12 in the midst; so hath she established the true Catholicke and Apostolicall Religion in this Land, neither mingled with multitudes of Idle superstitions; nor yet wanting true honour and reuerence for the Ministerie, in laudable and long receiued ceremonies.

16 But here I shall be carpped at, in that I call the Religion profest in her time, true Catholike and Apostolicall: considering, the Sea of *Rome*, and such English onely as be her sworne Sonnes, thinke that feate all—one to hold the Apostolicall faith: excluding her Maiestie,  
 20 and all other Christian Princes with their subiects, that haue not false before that Chaire, as people woorthie to be cutte off from Christes congregation: giuing them names of Protestants, Lutherans, and I know not what. And on another side, a selected company, that would  
 24 needs be counted Saints & holy ones, when there is nothing but corruption in their harts; they forsooth condemned her sacred gouernment for Antichristian, when, to the amazement of superstitious Romanes, & selfe-praying Sectuaries, God approued hir faith by his  
 28 loue towards her. And lest I should be taskd of ignorance, and termed a Nullifidian, in defending neither of these sides, and onely of the faith that the *Colliar* profest, which was euer one with the most, I say, I was borne and brought vp in the Religion profest by that most  
 32 Christian Princeesse *Elizabeth*, who beleueed not that the spirite of God was bound or tyde to any one place, no more to *Rome* than *Antioch*; that the Candlesticke of any Church might be remooude, for neglecting their first loue, and teaching traditions of men, in steede of  
 36 sacred veritie: and no man can denie but the Church of *Rome* hath so

taught, and standeth not in her first estate, but if it were in the Primitive Church perfectly and fully established: then hath it received many traditions since, which our *Elizabeth*, nor any of her faithful subjects, would obey, being no way by Gods word thereunto warranted: besides, there is apparent proofes that the Church of *Rome* hath many hundred yeares persecuted with great crueltie: which is no<sup>1</sup> badge of the true Apostolicall Church. [1 orig. no bo]

For the other sort: it is well knowne, they are for the most part, 8 ignorant and mechanick people, leade by some fewe hot spirited fellowes, that would faine haue all alike. These, tying themselves to a more strait course outwardly than other men, and though they be utterly object to the Romanistes, yet haue they more hee Saints and 12 the Saints among them than are in the Romish Kalender; where none, or at least but very fewe, are called Saints, but holy Virgins, Martyrs, and Confessors; but all the bretheren and sisters of the other side, are, at the first receiuing into their Communion, Sainted, if it be 16 but Kit Cobler, and Kate his wife; and both hee and she presume they haue as sufficient spirites to teach and expound the Scriptures, as either *Peter*, or *John*, or *Paule*, for so bluntly they terme the blessed Apostles: but their vanitie and pride our *Elizabeth* hated, and there- 20 fore bridled their waies, and was not moued with their hypocritical fastes; because they fasted to strife and debate, as it is written by the Prophet *Isay*. 58. and to smite with the fist of wickednes.

Her highnes therefore taught all her people the vndoubted truth: 24 that faith in Christ alone, the way, the doore, and the life: not turning either to the right hand, or to the left: and in this, being the best meane, her Temperance chiefly appeered: this rule she taught her kingdome, her familie, her selfe: at least, caused them to be taught by 28 excellent Pastors, to whom humbly she gaue publike eare

As in this, so for apparell, manners and diet, she made Lawes, and gaue example in hir owne person: to curb the vanitie of pride in garments, by expresse Statutes appointed all men and women to be 32 apparelled in their degree and calling. To repress the excesse of drinking and hated sinne of drunkenesse, she hath commaunded no drinke in her Land to be brued aboue an easie price: and to auoid gurmardize, she hath yearly commanded the Lent and Fasting-daies 36

to be kept, as in times before, not for superstition sake, but common policie, to haue Gods creatures receiued indifferently; and also to increase Marriners for the strength of the Ile, whose numbers, while  
 4 fish is contemnd, by neglect of fishing mightily decay: fishers being indeed, pretty traird Marriners, by reason that they haue experience in most of the Hauens, Creekes, Shoales, Flats, and other profits and daungers neere the places they vſde. But what should I say; if they  
 8 that will onely make the Scripture their cloke, and yet respect not this part, Obey the Magistrate for conscience: their sinne fall vpon themselves. I trust the Prince is excusable, that would his subiects would doe well; and so I am certaine was her Excellence.

12 True, said *Thenot*, but for all her Lawes, these courses were little set by: I haue seene vpstarts jet it gayer than Lords, numbers drinke till they haue seemde dead, & multitudes eate flesh euen vpon good Fryday. What remedie, said *Collon*: they that will breake the Kings  
 16 Law, make little account of Gods: such subiects are like false Executors, that performe not the legacies of the dead: her highnes was not the worse for that good Lawes were violated: they that dealt so with her, dealt worse with God: offending him double by breaking  
 20 his Lawes and hers. But in her owne household and person she obserued all these rules: and though many abroad by corruption were winkt at; yet sometime there were some taken and paid home.

But her excelling Selfe, though her Table were the abundantliest  
 24 furnisht of any Princes in the world with all varietie: yet fed she ofteneſt of one diſh, and that not of the daintiest. For quaffing, as it was vnfitting her Sex, so she extreamely abhord it, hating superfluitie as hell: and so farre was she from all nicenes, that I haue heard it  
 28 credibly reported, and know it by many instances to be true, that she neuer could abide to gaze in a mirror or looking glasse: no, not to behold one, while her head was tyred and adorned, but simply trusted to her attendant Ladies for the comelineſſe of her attyre: and that  
 32 this is true, *Thenot*, I am the rather perswaded, for that when I was yong, almost thirtie yeeres agoe, courting it now and than, I haue seene the Ladies make great shift to hide away their looking glasses if her Maieſtie had paſt by their lodgings.

36 O humble Lady, how meeke a spirit hadſt thou! how farre from



affecting beautie, or vaine pride: when thou desir'st not to see that face which all thy subiects longed dayly to behold, and sundry Princes came from farre to wonder at.

As in all these things she kept truly the Meane, so likewise in her 4 gifts: as I first noted touching her Charitie, which was still so tempered, notwithstanding her great charge in aiding her distressed neighbours, that she was euer truly liberall, and no way prodigall: as I trust his Royall Maiestie shall by the treasure finde. 8

As she was adorn'd with all these vertues; so was she indued with Fortitude and princely courage, so plentifully, that her displeasure shooke euen her stoutest aduersaries: and those vnnaturall traytors, that came armd sundry times with bloodie resolution to lay violent handes 12 on her sacred Maiestie, her verie lookes would daunt, and their instruments prepared for her death, dropt from their trembling hands with terror of their consciences, and amazement to behold her countenance; nay, when she knew they came of purpose to kill her, she hath 16 singled diuers of them alone, and let some passe from her with milde caueats a farre off: whose lenitie, rather increasing than diminishing their malice, they haue followed destruction, which too timely ouer tooke them. 20

I could in this place name many particular men, as *Parry*, and others: but I will content yee with one priuate example ouerpassing the generall: fortitude she show'd in her youth, in her captiuitie, in her glory, at all times: for defence of her faith, and all oppressed true 24 professors thereof: ending with this example of her high courage and assured confidence in God. When *Appletree*, whom I remembred before, had hurt her waterman, being next to her in the Barge; the French Ambassador being amaz'd, and all crying Treason, Treason: 28 yet she with an vndaunted spirit, came to the open place of the Barge, and bad them neuer feare, for if the shot were made at her, they durst not shoote againe: such maiestie had her presence, and such boldnesse her heart, that she despised all feare; and was, as all Princes are, 32 or should be, so full of diuine fulnesse, that guiltie mortalitie durst not beholde her but with dazeled eyes.

But I wonder, saith *Thenot*, thee in so many yeares built no goodly Edifice wherein her memorie might liue.

So did she, answered *Collin*, the goodlieft building in the earth, such as, like fleeting Iles, commanded the seas, whose outward walles are dreadfull Engins of braffe, sending fearefull thunder among  
 4 enemies. And the inhabitants of those wooden Iles, are worthy Seamen, such as dread no daunger, but for her would haue run euen into destructions mouth. I tell thee, *Thenot*, I haue seene in a fight some like nimble spirites hanging in the aire by little cordes, some lading  
 8 ordinance with deathful powder; some charging Muskets, and discharging ruine on their enemies; some at the foreship, others busie at helme, skipping here and there like Roes in lightnesse, and Lyons in courage; that it would haue powred spirit into a sicke man to see  
 12 their resolutions. For such tenants made she many buildings, exceeding any Emperors Nauy in the earth, whose seruice I doubt not will be acceptable to her most worthy Successor, our dread Soueraigne Lord and King.

16 Other Pallaces shee had great store of, which shee maintained and yearly repaired; at least, would haue done, if those that hadde care of her surueying, would haue bene as carefull for hers as for their owne.

20 What should I say of her? the cloudie mantle of the night couers the beautie of the heauen: and this euening lookes like those foure dayes that preceded the morning of her death. The beastes the night that shee ended her fate in earth, kept an vnwonted bellowing, so  
 24 that I assure thee, *Thenot*, being assured of her sicknes, I was troubled (being awakened with their cries) with imagination of her death, that I pittied not my bleating flocke, who with their innocent notes kept time with my true teares, till the houre of her death was past, when  
 28 immediately a heauie sleepe shut vp the windowes of mine eyes: at which time, (as I haue since heard,) deathes eternall sleepe vtterly benumbed all her senses, whose soule (I doubt not) hath alreadie entred endlesse rest, whether God will draw her glorified body in his  
 32 great day. Sweete Virgin, shee was borne on the Eue of that blessed Virgins Natiuitie, holy *Mary*, Christs mother: shee dyed on the Eue of the Anunciation of the same most holy Virgin; a blessed note of her endlesse blessednesse, and her societie in heauen with those wise  
 36 Virgins, that kept Oyle euer in their Lampes, to awaite the Bride-

groome. Shee came vnto the Crowne after her royall sisters death, like a fresh Spring euen in the beginning of Winter, and brought vs comfort, as the cleare Sunne doth to storme-dressed Marriners; shee left the Crowne likewise in the winter of her Age, and the beginning 4 of our Spring: as if the Ruler of heauen had ordained her coronation in our sharpest Winter to bring vs happinesse, & vncrowned her in our happiest Spring, to leaue vs in more felicitie by her Succeder. O happie beginning, and more happy ende: which notwithstanding, as 8 naturall sonnes and subiects, let her not goe vnuet for to her graue. This euening let vs be like the Euening, that drops dewy teares on the earth: and while our hyndes shut vp the sheepe in their foldes, sing a Funerall song for the losse of diuine *Elizabeth*; inuocating 12 absent Schollers to bewaile her, whome in fundrie Schooles shee cherisht, and personally in either of their Vniuersities visited: let vs bid souldiers lament her, toward whom, besides many apparant signes of her exceeding loue, this is one most worth memorie; shee 16 came amongst them mounted at *Tilburie*, beeing gathered into a royall Armie against the Spanish Inuasion; promising to share with them in all fortunes, if the enemy durst but shewe his face aland. Let Citizens likewise shed teares for her losse, especially those of *London*, 20 to whom she was euer a kinde Soueraigne, and bountifull neighbour.

I neede not bid the Courtiers weepe, for they can neuer forget the countenance of their gracious Mistresse, till they haue ingrauen in their 24 hearts the fauour of their most royall Maister. For vs \* poore Shepheards, though we are not able to sute our felues in blackes fine enough to adorne so Royall an Enterment, yet, *Thenot*, quicken thy inuention; *Dryope* and *Chloris* shall beare parte; and let vs conclude 28 our sorrowe for *Eliza* in a Funerall Hymne, that shall haue power to drawe from the swelling Cloudes waters to assist our woe. The Springes, taught by the teares that breake from our eyes, alreadye ouerflowe their boundes: The Birdes fitte mute to heare our musicke, 32 and our harmeleffe flocke harken to our mones.

To this they all, as gladly as their grieve would suffer them, consented: *Collin* for his broken pipe tooke *Cuddyes*, who could neither sing nor play, he was so full of passion and fighes.

*The Funerall Song betweene Collin and Thenot  
Dryope and Chloris, vpon the death of the sa-  
cred Virgin Elizabeth.*

4

Collin.

*Y*E sacred Muses dwelling,  
Where Art is euer swelling;  
Your learned Fount forfake,  
Helpe Funerall Songs to make:  
Hang them about her Herse  
That euer loued Verse.

8

Clio writ downe her Storie,  
That was the Muses Glorie.

12

Drioep.

*And ye oft-footed Howers.*

*Make readie Cypresse Bowers :*

16

*Instead of Roses sweete  
(For pleasant Spring-time meete)  
Strew all the pathes with Yeugh,  
Night-shade and bitter Reugh.*

20

*Bid Flora hide her Treasure :  
Say tis no time of pleasure.*

Thenot.

*And you diuineſt Graces,*

24

*Veyle all your sacred faces  
With your bright ſhining haire,  
Shew euery ſigne of care :  
The Hart that was your Phane,*

28

*The cruell Fates haue ſlaine :  
From earth no power can raiſe her,  
Onely our Hymnes may praiſe her.*

Chloris.

32

*Muses and Howres and Graces,  
Let all the hallowed places  
Which the cleere Moone did view,  
Looke with a ſable hiew :*

*Let not the Sunne be seene,  
But weeping for the Queene  
That Grace and Muse did cherish.  
O, that such worth should perish !*

4

Collin.

*So turne our verse, and on this lofty Pine,  
Each one ingraue for her some Funerall line :  
Thus I beginne.*

8

Collins Epitaph.

*Eliza, Maiden Mirror of this Age,  
Earths true Astræa while she liu'de and raig'n'de,  
Is throwne by Death from her triumphant Stage,  
But by that fall hath endlesse glorie gain'de :  
And foolish death would faine if he could weepe,  
For killing Her he had no power to keepe.*

12

Thenots Epitaph.

16

*Eliza rich and Royall, faire and iust :  
Giues heauen her Soule, and leaues her Flesh to dust.*

Dryopes Epitaph.

*There is no beautie but it vades,  
No glory but is veyld with shades :  
So is Eliza, Queene of Maids,*

20

*stoopt to her Fate.*

*Yet Death in this hath little thriu'de,  
For thus her vertues haue atchiu'de,  
She shall, by verse, liue still reuiu'de  
in spight of Hate.*

24

Chloris Epitaph.

28

*Eliza that astonished her foes,  
Stoopt her rebellious subiects at her feete :*

\* Her Roy-  
all word or  
motto was,  
*Semper Ea-  
dem.*

*Whose minde was \* Still the same in ioy and woes,  
Whose frowne was fearefull, and her fauours sweete :  
Swaid all this land, but most her selfe she swaide,  
Liu'de a chaste Queene, and di'de a Royall Maide.*

32

These Epitaphs ended, the Nymphs and Shepheards led by *Collin* and *Thenot*, who afore plaide heauy tunes on their oaten pipes, gotte to their feuerall cottages, and spent their time till midnight, mourning 4 for *Eliza*: But Sleepe, the equaller of Kings and captiues, banished their sorrowes. What humor they are in after rest, you shall in the morning heare: for commonly, as the day is, so are our affections disposed.





¶ The order and proceeding at the Funerall of the Right High and Mightie  
 Princesse *Elizabeth* Queene of *England, France, and Ireland*: from the Pallace of *Westminster* called *White-hall*  
 To the Cathedrall Church of *Westminster*: the  
 28. of April. 1603.

First, the Knight Marshals man, to make way.		Coopers.
Next, the 240. poore women by foure and foure.	4	Wine-porters. Conducts in the Bakehouse. Bel-ringer. Maker of Spice-bags. Cart takers, chosen by the bord. Long Cartes. Cart takers. Of the Almery. Of the Stable. Of the Woodyard.
Then, seruants of Gentlemen, Es- quiers, and Knights.		Skullery Pastrie. Skalding house. Poultrie. Caterie. Boyling house. Larder. Kitchin. Laundrie. Ewry. Confectionary. Wafery. Chaundry. Pitcherhouse. Buttrie. Seller. Pantrye.
Two Porters.	8	
Next, foure Trumpetors.		
After them		
<i>Rose, Pursuant at Armes.</i>	12	
Two Sergeants at Armes.		
<i>The Standerd of the Dragon.</i>	16	
Two Querries leading a horse.		
Then the messengers of the Cham- ber, foure and foure.		
Children of the Almondry.	20	
Children of the Woodyard,		
Children of the Skullery.		
Children and turners of the pastry.		
The Skalding house.	24	
The Larder.		
After them		
<i>Groomes.</i>		
Wheate porters.	28	

Bakehouse.		Garneter.	
Countinghouse.		Bakehouse.	
Then Noblemens and Embassadors		Counting house.	
servants.	4	Spicery.	
		Chamber,	
Groomes of the Chamber.		Robes,	
Four Trumpeters.	8	Wardrop.	
<i>Blewmantle.</i>		Erles and Countesses servants.	
A Sergeant at Armes.	12	Four Trumpeters.	
<i>The Stander of the Greyhound.</i>		<i>Portcullis.</i>	
Two Quirries leading a horse.	16	A Sergeant at Armes.	
Yeomen of the Servitors in the		<i>The Stander of the Lion.</i>	
hall, foure and foure.		Two Quirries leading a horse	
Cart takers.	20	trapped with vel-	
Porters.		uet.	
Almondrie.		Sergeant of the vestry.	
Herbengers.		Children of the Chappell in surpleffes	
Woodyard.	24	Gent. of the Chappel, in Copes.	
Skullery.		<i>Clarkes.</i>	
Pastrie.		Deputie Clarke of the Market.	
Poultrie and skalding house.		Clarkes extraordinarie.	
Purueyors of the Poultrie.	28	Coferer.	
Purueyors of the Acatrie.		Diet.	
Stable.		M. Cooke for the household.	
Boyling house.		Pastrie.	
Larder.	32	Larder.	
Kitchin.		Skullerie.	
Ewrie.		Woodyard.	
Confectionarie.		Poultrie.	
Waferie.	36	Bakehouse.	
Purueyor of the wax.		Acatrie.	
Tallow Chandler.		Stable.	
Chaundrie.			
Pitcher house.	40	<i>Sergeants.</i>	
Brewers		Gent. Herbinger.	
Buttrie.		Wood-yard.	
Purueyors.		Skullery.	
Seller.	44	Pastrie.	
Pantrie.			



Caterie.

Larder.

Ewry.

Seller.

Pantrie.

Bakehouse.

Maister Cooke of the Kitchin.

Clarkes of the Querrie.

Second and third clarke of the

Chaundrie.

Second & third clarke of the Kitchin.

Superuifors of the Dreffer.

Surueyer of the dreffer, for the  
chamber.

Mufitions.

Apoticians and Chirurgions.

Sewers of the hall.

Marshall of the hall.

Sewers of the chamber

Groome Porter.

Gentlemen vihers and waiters.

Clarke, Marshall, and Auenor.

Chiefe clarke of the wardrop.

Chiefe clarke of the Kitchin.

Two clarkes controllers.

Clarke of the Greencloth.

Maister of the household.

Cofferer.

*Rouge Dragon.*

A Sergeant at Armes.

*The Banner of Chester.*

Clarks of the Counfel, foure & foure.

Clarkes of the priuie Seale.

Clarkes of the Signet.

Clarkes of the Parliament.

Doctors of Phificke.

The Queenes Chaplaines.

Secretaries for the Latine and French  
tongue.

*Rouge Croffe.*

Two Sergeants of Armes.

4 *The Banner of Cornewall.*

Aldermen of London.

Solliciter, Attorney, and Sergeant.

8 Maister of Reuels, & M. of the Tents.

Knights Bachelors.

Lord chiefe Baron, and Lord chiefe

Iuftice of the Common pleas.

Maister of the Iewell house.

12 Knights Embassadors, & Gentlemen  
Agents.

Sewers for the Queene.

Sewers for the Body.

16 Esquires of the Body.

*Lancaster and Windfor.*

*The Banner of Wales.*

20 *The Banner of Ireland.*

Maister of the Requests.

Agents for Venice, and the Estates.

Lord Maior of London.

24 Sir Iohn Popham. Sir Iohn Fortescue.

Sir Rober Cicell principall Secretary.

Controller & Treasurer of household.

Barons.

28 Bishoppes.

Erles eldest sonnes.

Viscounts.

Dukes second sonnes.

32 Erles.

Marquefes.

Bishop Almoner. Preacher.

Lord Keeper.

36 The French Embassador.

Archbishop of Canterburie.

Foure Sergeants of Armes.

40 *The great embrotherd Baner of England*

*Somerfet and Richmond.*

*Yorke, Helme and Creaft.*

*Chefter, Targue.*

*Norrey King at Armes, Sword.*

*Clarenceaux King at Armes, Coate.*

After them the Gentlemen vsiers  
with white Rods.

The liuely picture of her Highnesse  
whole body, crowned in her Par-  
liament Robes, lying on the corps  
balméd and leaded, couered with  
veluet, borne in a chariot, drawne  
by foure horsés trapt in blacke vel-  
uet.

About it fixe Banner Rolls on each  
side : Gentlemen pentioners with  
their Axes downeward.

With them the Footemen.

A Canapy borne ouer the chariot by  
foure Noblemen.

The Erle of *Worcester* maister of the  
horse, leading the Palfrie of Honour.

Two Esquiers and a groome, to  
attend and leade him away.

Gentlemen vsier, *Garter K. of Armes.*

4 Lady Marchionesse of Northampton,  
assisted by the Lord Treasurer and  
Lord Admirall.

Chiefe mourner, her traine suppor-  
8 ted by maister Vicechamberlaine :

Two Erles assistants to her.

Fourteene Countesses assistants.

Gentlewomen of the Priuy chamber.

12 Countesses.

Viscountesses

Erles daughters.

Baronesses

16 Maids of Honour, of the Priuy  
chamber.

Captaine of the Guard, with all

the Guard following, fise and fise in

20 a ranke, their holberds downeward.

### To the Reader.

I Loue as little as any man to come in print : but seeing affection hath  
made me commit this fault, I pray you pardon it ; and amend in reading  
the Printers errors ; where, being ill acquainted with Poetrie, he hath passed  
Herores<sup>1</sup> for Heroes ; what euer else seemes harsh, imagine I can write Eng-  
lish, and make not the fault mine.

Farewell.

*Hen : Chetle.*



<sup>1</sup> This must be for '*Heures last Museus*,' sig. D 3 of the original, p. 98 of this reprint.

*The Shepherds Spring Song, in gratulation of the royall, happy, and flourishing Entrance, to the Maiestie of England, by the most potent and prudent Soueraigne, Iames king of England, France and Ireland.*

4

*Collin.* **T**Henot and Chloris, red lipt Driope,  
Shepherds, Nymphs, Swaines, al that delight in field,  
Liuing by harmelesse thrift your fat heards yeelde,  
Why slacke yee now your loued company?

8

Vp fluggards, learne, the larke doth, mounted, sing  
His cheerefull Carrolls, to salute our King.

The Mauis, blacke-bird, and the little Wren,

12

The Nightingale vpon the hawthorne brire,  
And all the wingd Musitions in a Quire,  
Do with their notes rebuke dull lazie men.

Vp sheperds, vp; your sloth breeds al your shames

16

You sleepe like beafts, while birds salute K. *Iames.*

The gray eyde morning with a bluftring cheeke,  
Like *Englands* royall Rose mixt red and white,  
Summons all eies to pleasure and delight.

20

Behold the euenings deaws doe vpward reeke,

Drawn by the Sun, which now doth gild the skie,  
With his light-giuing and world-cheering eie.

O thats well done; I see your cause of stay

24

Was to adorne your temples with fresh flowers,  
And gather beautie to bedecke your bowers,  
That they may seeme the Cabinets of Maie:

Honor this time, sweetest of all sweete Springs,

28

That so much good, so many pleasures brings.

For now alone the liuery of the earth

Giues not life, comfort, to your bleating Lambes,

Nor fills the strowting vdders of their dams,

32

It yeeldes another cause of gleefome mirth,

This ground weares all her best embroidery,

To entertaine her Soueraignes maiestie.

And well she may, for neuer English ground  
 Bore such a Soueraigne as this royall Lord :  
 Looke vpon all Antiquities Record ;

4 In no Inrollment such a King is found.

Beginne with *Brute*, (if that of *Brute* be true,)  
 As I'le not doubt, but giue old Bards their due.

He was a Prince vnsetled, fought a Shore

8 To rest his long-tofft Troyan scattred Race :

And (as tis sed) found here a resting place :

Grant this : but yeeld, he did false gods adore. .

The Nations were not calld to Christ that time,

12 Blacke Pagan clouds darkned this goodly Clime.

So, when diffention brought the Romans in,

No *Cæsar* till the godly *Constantine*,

(Descended truely from the Brittish line)

16 Purge this Isles aire from Idoll-hated sinne ;

\*

Yet he in care of *Rome* left Deputies.

Our *Iames* maintaines (himselfe,) his dignities.

The Saxon, & the Dane, scourgd with sharp steele,

20 (So did the Norman Duke) this beauteous Land,

Inuading Lords raigne with an yron hand :

A gentler ruling in this Change we feele,

Our Lion comes as meekely as a Doue,

24 Not conq'ring vs by hurt, but harty loue.

Euen as a calme to tempest tossed men,

As bread to the faint soule with famine vext ;

As a coole Spring to those with heate perplex,

28 As the Sunnes light into a fearefull denne,

So comes our King : euen in a time of neede,

To faue, to shine, to comforte and to feede.

O Shepheards, sing his welcome with sweete notes,

32 Nymphs, strew his way with Roses Red and White,

Prouide all pastimes that may sense delight,

Offer the fleeces of your flockes white cotes :

He that now spares, doth in that sauing, spill ;

Where Worth is little, Vertue likes good will.

Now from the Orchades to the Cornish Iles,  
 From thence to *Cambria*, and the Hyberian shore,  
 The found of Ciuill warre is heard no more;  
 Each Countenance is garnished with smiles, 4  
     All in one hymne with sweet contentment sing,  
     The praise and power of *Iames* their onely King.  
 Our onely King, one Ile, one Soueraigne;  
 O long-defired, and perfected good! 8  
 By him the heate of wrath, and boyling blood,  
 Is mildly quencht; and Enuie counted vaine:  
     One King, one people, blessed vnitie,  
     That ties such mightie Nations to agree. 12  
 Shepherdes, Ile not be tedious in my Song;  
 For that I see you bent to actiue sport;  
 Though I perswade me all time is too short  
 To welcome him, whome we haue wisht for long. 16  
     Well done, dance on; looke how our little lambs,  
     Skippe as you spring, about their fleecie dams.  
 Thus were yee wont to trip about the Greene,  
 And dance in ringlets, like to Fairie Elues, 20  
 Striuing in cunning to exceede your felues,  
 In honour of your late false summer Queene:  
     But now exceede; this Maie excelles all Springs,  
     Which King & Queene, and Prince & Princeffe brings. 24  
 Showt ioyfully, ye Nymphs, and rurall Swaines,  
 Your maister *Pan* will now protect your foldes,  
 Your Cottages will be as safe as Holdes,  
 Feare neither Wolues nor subtile Foxes traines, 28  
     A Royall King will of your weale take keepe,  
     Hee'le be your Shepherd, you shalbe his sheepe.  
 He comes in pompe; so should a King appeare;  
 Gods Deputie should set the world at gaze; 32  
 Yet his milde lookes driue vs from all amaze;  
 Clap hands for ioy, our Soueraigne draweth neere;  
     Sing *Ið, Ið*, shepherds, dance and sing,  
     Expreffe all ioy, in welcoming our King. 36

The aire, the season, and the Earth accord  
In Pleasure, Order, both for sight and sense :  
All things looke fresh to greet his Excellence,  
4 And *Collin* humbly thus salutes his Lord :  
    Drad and beloude, liue *Englands* happy King,  
    While seasons last, fresh as the liuely spring.

FINIS.



# A MOURNEFULL DITTIE

entitled

Elizabeths Losse

together with

A Welcome for King James

(A.D. 1603)

[Reprinted from the unique original in the Heber Collection of Ballads and Broad-sides in the possession of S. Christie-Miller, Esq., of Britwell House, Burnham, Buckinghamshire, to whose kindness the Society is indebted for a transcript of the Ballad, and the collation of the proof with the original.]

A mournfull Dittie, entituled *Elizabeths losse*,  
together with a welcome for King *Iames*.

To a pleasant new tune.

- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| 4  | Farewell, farewell, farewell,<br>braue Englands ioy :<br>Gone is thy friend<br>that kept thee from annoy. | Shew forth your loue,<br>in tongue in hart and deeds.<br>Lament, lament, &c.   |
| 8  | Lament, lament, lament<br>you English Peeres,<br>Lament your losse<br>possest so many yeeres.             | Full foure and fortie yecres<br>foure moneths seauen dayes,<br>She did maintaine this realme<br>in peace alwayes.<br>Lament, lament, &c. |
| 12 | Gone is thy Queene, the<br>paragon of time,<br>On whom grim death<br>hath spred his fatall line.          | In spite of Spaines proud Pope,<br>and all the rout,<br>Who Lyon like ran<br>ranging round about.  |
| 16 | Lament, lament, &c.   | Lament, lament, &c.  |
|    | Gone is that gem which<br>God and man did loue,<br>She hath vs left<br>to dwell in heauen aboue.          | With traiterous plots to stay<br>her Royall grace,<br>Her realme, her lawes<br>and Gospell to deface,<br>Lament, lament, &c.             |
| 20 | Lament, lament, &c.   |  |
|    | You gallant Ladies<br>of her Princely traine,<br>Lament your losse<br>your loue, your hope, and gaine.    | Yet time and tide God still<br>was her defence,<br>Till for himselfe from vs<br>hee tooke her hence<br>Lament, lament, &c.               |
| 24 | Lament, lament, &c.   |  |
|    | Weepe wring your hands,<br>all clad in mourning weeds,  | We neede not to rehearse<br>what care what griefe,   |
| 28 |   |  |



She still endured, and all for our reliefe. Lament, lament, &c.	Mourne Trumpets shrill, mourne Cornets mute & round. Lament, lament, &c.	
We neede not to rehearse what benefits, You all inioyd, what pleasures and what gifts. Lament, lament, &c.	You Poets all braue <i>Shakspeare</i> , <i>Johnson</i> , <i>Greene</i> , Bestow your time to write for Englands Queene. Lament, lament, &c.	4 8
You Virgins all bewayle your Virgin Queene, That Phoenix rare, on earth but sildome seene. Lament, lament, &c.	Returne your songs and Sonnets and your sayes : To set foorth sweete <i>Elizabeths</i> praise. Lament, lament, &c.	12
With Angels wings she pearst the starrie skie, When death, grim death, hath shut her mortall eye. Lament, lament, &c.	In fine all you that loyall harts possesse, With Roses sweete, bedeck hir Princely hearse. Lament, lament, &c.	16
You Nimphs that sing and bathe, in Fountaines cleere : Come lend your helpe to sing in mournefull cheere. Lament, lament, &c.	Bedeck that hearse sprong from that famous King, King <i>Henrie</i> the eight, whose fame on earth doth ring. Lament, lament, &c.	20
All you that doe professe Sweet musicks Art, Lay all aside, your Vyoll Lute and Harpe, Lament, lament, &c.	Now is the time that we must all forget, Thy sacred name oh sweet <i>Elizabeth</i> . Lament, lament, &c.	24 28
Mourne Organs, Flutes, Mourne Sagbutts with sad soūd:	Praying for King <i>James</i> , as earst we prayed for thee,	

In all submissiue loue  
and loyaltie.

Lament, lament, &c.

Then was the raigne  
of late *Elisabeth*.

Lament, lament, &c.

4 Beseeching God to blesse  
his Maiestie  
with earthly peace  
and heauens felicitie.

8 Lament, lament, &c.

And make his raigne  
more prosperous here on earth

Wherefore all you  
that subiects true beare names :  
Still pray with me, and say  
God saue King *Iames*.

Lament, lament, lament,  
you English Pceres,  
Lament your losse enioyd  
So many yeeres.

FINIS.

I. C.'s 12th Epigram, from  
 "EPIGRAMES.

Serued out in 52. feuerall

*Dishes for euery man to*  
 taft without surfeting.

*Modicum non nocet.*

By I. C. Gent.



LONDON

Printed by *G. Elde*, for *W. C.* and are  
 to be folde at his Shop neere  
 vnto Ludgate."

[*Bodleian Press-mark*, Malone 373.]



[Sign. B.]

*Epigrammes.*

12

Who er'e will go vnto the preſſe may ſee  
The hated Fathers of vilde balladrie :

- 4 One ſings in his baſe note the Riuer Thames  
Shal ſound the famous memory of noble king *Iames* ;  
Another ſayes that he will, to his death,  
Singing the renowned worthineſſe of ſweet *Elizabeth* ;  
8 So runnes their verſe in ſuch diſordered ſtraine,  
And with them dare great maieſty prophane,  
Some dare do this ; ſome other humbly craucs  
For helpe of ſpirits in their ſleeping graues,  
12 As he that calde to *Shakeſpeare, Iohnſon, Greene,*  
To write of their dead noble Queene ;  
But he that made the Ballads of oh hone,<sup>1</sup>  
Did wondrous well to whet the buyer on :  
16 Theſe fellowes are the ſlaundersers of the time,  
Make ryming hatefull through their baſtard rime.

But were I made a iudge in poetry,

They all ſhould burne for their vilde hereſie.

<sup>1</sup> Mr W. Chappell believes that the Erſe and Gaelic exclamation *O hone!* was firſt introduced in English Ballads after the execution of the Earl of Eſſex. One of the charges againſt him was that of diſloyalty in his adminiſtration of Ireland. A contemporary ballad ſays,

Would God he ne'er had Ireland known

Nor ſet one foot on Flanders ground. (Rox. Bal. I. p. 573, ll. 1, 2.)

This ballad opens with an appeal to the Irish to join in bewailing his untimely death :

All you that cry *O hone! O hone!*

Come now and ſing *O hone!* with me.

*O hone, Ock hone, or Ochone*, i. e. alas! is ſtill ſung to muſic by the Irish and the Scotch. One of Wilſon's moſt effective ſongs was the dirge on the Glencoe maſſacre, called *Ochone Ochri Oh!* Another ballad with the burden *O Hone* was printed by Mr W. Chappell in his *Popular Muſic*, vol. i. p. 370. Its date is 1670—1680.

Franklin, my loyal friend, *O hone, O hone!*

In whom my joys do end, *O hone, O hone!*

Franklin, my heart's delight,

Since laſt he took his flight,

Bids now the world good-night,

*O hone, O hone!*

The title of the original ballad is, ſays Mr Chappell, "A mournful Caral : Or an Elegy lamenting the tragical ends of two unfortunate faithful Lovers, Franklin and Cordeliuſ : he being ſlain, ſhe ſlew herſelf with her dagger. To a new tune called *Franklin is fled away*." Black-letter. Printed for M. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray, and T. Paſſinger. Six ſtanzas in the firſt, and 8 in the ſecond part. Copies of this ballad are in the Pepys Collection, ii. 76 ; the Rox-burgh, ii. 348 ; the Bagford, 643, m. 10, p. 69 ; and the Douce, fol. 222. As E. Elde printed *Palladis Palatium* in 1604, Ben Jonſon's *Sejanus* in 1605, and many other books up to 1622, the date of I. C.'s *Epigram* may be any time within that period : but on internal evidence we ſhould place it very early.

Gabriel Harvey's Third Letter,  
from  
"FOVRE LETTERS,  
and certaine Sonnets:

*Especially touching Robert Greene, and other parties,  
by him abused :*

But incidently of diuerſe excellent perſons,  
and ſome matters of note,

*To all courteous mindes, that will vouchſafe the reading.*



LONDON  
Imprinted by Iohn Wolfe  
1592."

(pages. 15—50.)

## The Third Letter.

*To euery Reader, fauourable, or indifferently affected.*

Albeit for these twelue, or thirteene yeares, no man hath bene  
 4 more loth, or more scrupulous, then myselfe, to vnderlie the  
 cenfure of euery curious conceite, or rigorous iudgement, that  
 pretendeth a deepe insight in the perfections of wits and fyles, inso-  
 much that euen Actions of Silence and Patience haue bene com-  
 8 menced against me: and although I stil dwel in the same opinion, that  
 nothing would be committed to a publike view, that is not exactly  
 laboured both for matter and maner: and that importeth not some  
 notable vse, to one, or other effec[t]uall purpose: Yet partlie the  
 12 vehemente importunity of some affectionate friends, and partly mine  
 owne tender regard of my fathers, and my brothers good reputation,  
 haue so forcibly ouer-ruled me, that I haue finally condescended to  
 their passionate motion: and in an extraordinarie case, haue respect-  
 16 iuely yeelded my consent to an extraordinary course. Which I would  
 vnpartially commend to the reasonable allowance of euery indiferent  
 peruser that carrieth Courtesie in his Tongue, or honesty in his Hart.  
 For mine own iniury, the more I confider, the lesse I estimate the  
 20 same: as one born to suffer, & made to contemne iniuries. He that  
 in his youth flattered not himselfe with the exceeding commendations  
 of some greatest schollers in the worlde: cannot at these yeares, either  
 be discouraged with misreporte, or daunted with misfortune. A pre-  
 24 meditate, & resolute minde lightly shaketh off the heauiest crosses of  
 malice, and easely passeth ouer a thousande grieuances with a smile.  
 Some haue learned of Reason, some of Philosophy, some of History,  
 some of Diuinitie, some of Experience, some of all, to endure patiently,  
 28 whatsoeuer befalleth, & euen to make the cruellest paine pleasant, as  
 some make the swetest pleasure painefull. I had rather name *Titius*,

or *Sempronius*, then my selfe: But the vrgent entreaty of friends, and your eager expectation haue suddainely obtained that, which no personall empeachment, or real enforcement could in many yerres extort. Howbeit I shall hardly content them, to satisfy you: that 4 am neither to offend any, but in case of notoriety: nor to defend my selfe, but in case of necessity, or honesty. If anie haue charged mee, or do charge mee with insufficiency, I confesse: perfection is no common gifte: if with ignorance, I graunt: many seeme, fewe are, 8 learned: if with simplicity, I yeeld: wondrous wittes are rare birdes: if with ill-lucke, I deny not: good lucke is not euerie mans lotte: yet who euer hearde me complaine of ill-lucke, or once say, *Fortune my Foe*? But in the plainnesse of my nature, and simplicitie 12 of my Arte, I can easely defie the proudest, that dareth cal my credite in question: or accuse me of any dishonest, or scandalous parte, either in deede, or in word. Many thinges are made offensue in the handling, that are tollerable inough in their owne nature: or fie on an 16 odious circumstance, where the substance it selfe might be more gracious. Letters may bee priuately written, that would not bee publickly diuulged: I was then yong in years, fresh in courage, greene in experience, and as the manner is, somewhat ouerweeninge in con- 20 ceit: and for varietie of study, and some deeper intelligence in the affayres of the worlde, otherwhiles reading inuectiues, and Satyres, artificially amplified in the most exaggerate and hyperbolicall kinde, I coulde hardlye refraine from discoueringe some little part of my reading: I had curiously laboured some exact, and exquisite poyntes of studie and practise, and greatly misliked the preposterous and vntoward courses of diuers good wits, ill directed; there wanted not some sharpe vnderferued discourtesies to exasperate my mind: shall I touch the 28 vlcer? it is no such mysterye, but it may be reuealed: I was supposed not vnmeet for the Oratorship of the vniuersity, which in that springe of mine age, for my Exercise, and credite, I earnestly affected: but mine owne modest petition, my friendes diligent labour, our high 32 Chancelors most-honourable and extraordinarye commendation, were all peltingly defeated, by a flye practise of the olde Fox: whose acts, and monumentes shall neuer dye: some like accidents of dislike, for breuity I ouerslip: young blood is hot: youth hasty: ingenuity open: 36

abuse impatiente: choler stomachous: temptations busie: the In-  
 uectiue vaine, a sturring, and tickeling vaine: the Satyricall humour,  
 a puffinge, and swellinge humor: Conceit penneth, leifure peruseth,  
 4 and Curtesy commendeth many needlesse discourfes: Idleneffe, the  
 greatest Author and variablest Reader in the world: some familiar  
 friendes pricked me forward: and I, neither fearing daunger, nor  
 suspecting ill measure, (poore credulitie sone beguiled) was not  
 8 vnwilling to content them, to delight a few other and to auenge, or  
 satisfie my selfe, after the manner of shrewes, that cannot otherwise  
 ease their curst hearts, but by their owne tongues, & their neigh-  
 bours eares. Signor Immerito (for that name will be remembred)  
 12 was then, and is still, my affectionate friend, one that could very wel  
 abide Gascoignes Steele glasse, and that stood equallie indifferent to  
 either part of the state Demo[n]stratiue: many communications and  
 writings may secretly passe betweene such, euen for an exercise of  
 16 speech and stile, that are not otherwise conuenient to be disclosed:  
 it was the sinister hap of those infortunate Letters, to fall into the left  
 handes of malicious enemies, or vndiscrete friends: who aduentured  
 to imprint in earnest, that was scribled in iest, (for the moody fit was  
 20 soone ouer:) and requited their priuate pleasure with my publike dis-  
 pleasure: oh my inestimable, and infinite displeasure. When there  
 was no remedie, but melancholy patience: and the sharpest parte of  
 those unlucky Letters had bene ouer read at the Councell Table: I  
 24 was aduised by certaine honourable, and diuers worshipfull persons,  
 to interpreate my intention in more expresse termes: and thereupon  
 discourfed euerie particularitie, by way of Articles or Positions, in a  
 large Apology of my duetiful, and entier affection to that flourishing  
 28 Vniuersitie, my deere Mother: which Apology, with not so few as  
 forty such Academicall Exercises, and fundry other politique Dis-  
 courfes, I haue hitherto suppressed, as vnworthie the view of the  
 busie world, or the entertainment of precious Time: but perad-  
 32 uenture these extraordinarie prouocations may worke extraordinarie  
 in me; and though not in passion, yet in conceit, sturre me vp, to  
 publish many Traictes, and Discourfes, that in certaine considerations  
 I meant euer to conceale, and to Dedicate vnto none, but vnto  
 36 obscure Darkenesse, or Famous Vulcane. It were pittie, but won-



derous wits (giue enemies their due) shoulde become more woonderous by comparifon, conference maketh excellent things appeare more admirable: & I am fo far from being a Saturnift by nature, or a Stoick by difcipline, that I can eafily frame a certaine pleafurable 4 delight vnto my felfe, by miniftring fome matter vnto them, that now, are faine to make fome thing of nothing: and wittily to plaie with their own fhadowes. It goeth fomewhat hard in my harfh Legend, when the father of Muficke muft be mocked, not Tubulcain, as he 8 miftearmeth him, but Tuball, whom Genesis voutſafeth honourable mention: and the Hexameter verſe flouted: whereof neither Homer in Greeke, nor Virgill in Latine, (how valorous Autors?) nor Alexander in conqueſt, nor Auguſtus in maieſty (how puiſſaunt Princes?) 12 were aſhamed: but accompted it the onely gallant trompet of braue, and Heroicall Acts; and I wis, the Engliſh is nothing too-good to imitat the Greeke, or Latine, or other eloquent Languages, that honour the Hexameter, as the ſoueraigne of verſes, and the high 16 Controwler of Rimes. If I neuer deſerue anye better remembraunce, let mee rather be Epitaphed, The Inuentour of the Engliſh Hexameter: whome learned M. Stanihurſt imitated in his Virgill, and excellent Sir Phillip Sidney diſdained not to follow in his Arcadia, & 20 elfewhere, then be chronicled, The greene maifter of the Blacke Arte: or the founder of vgly oathes: or the father of misbegotten *Infortunatus*: or the Scriuener of Crofbiters: or as one of his owne ſecſaries termed him, the Patriarch of ſhifters. Happy man I, if theſe 24 two be my hainouſeſt crimes, and deadlieſt finnes, To bee the Inuentour of the Engliſh Hexameter, and to bee orderlie clapt in the Fleete for the foreſaide Letters: where he that ſawe me, ſawe mee at Conſtantinople. Indeede Sir Iames Croft (whome I neuer touched with 28 the leaſt tittle of detractions) was cunningly incenſed, and reincenſed againſt mee: but at laſt pacified by the voluntarie mediation of my honourable fauourers, M. Secretary Wilſon, and Sir Walter Mildmay: vnrequeſted by any line of my hand, or any woord of my mouth. 32 Neither did I otherwiſe ſollicite, or intreate Sir Iames, till I had aſſured notice of his better ſatiſfaction: when I writte vnto him, as became mee, in reſpectiue, and duetifull forte: not for feare of any daunger, but for loue of honourable fauour. Which Letters, albeit 36

not so ceremoniously pleasing, as effectually contenting, the wife knight not onely received courteously, but accepted fauourable, and commended honourably: and for my selfe, earnestly affirmed, I was  
 4 first wronged by other, and then mistaken by him: but now found another man, then I was supposed. As for my olde Controwler, Doctor Perne (for he indeed was the man, that otherwhiles flattered me exceedingly, otherwhiles ouerthwarted me crossly, alwaies plaid  
 8 fast, and loose with me) he was old enough, to aunswere for himselfe, and should not bee defended by him. Onely he wished me to proceede lovingly with the Vniuersity, howsoever I dealt with that Doctor. And that was all the Fleeting, that euer I felt: sauing that  
 12 an other company of speciall good fellowes, (whereof he was none of the meanest, that brauely threatned to coniure-vpp one, which should massacre Martins witt, or should bee lambackd himself with ten yeares prouision) would needs forsooth verie courtly perswade the  
 16 Earle of Oxforde, that some thing in those Letters, and namely the Mirrour of Tuscanismo, was palpably intended against him: whose noble Lordship I protest, I neuer meante to dishonour with the least preiudicial word of my Tongue, or pen: but euer kept a mindefull  
 20 reckoning of many bounden duties toward The-same: since in the prime of his gallantest youth, hee bestowed Angels vpon mee in Christes Colledge in Cambridge, and otherwise voutsafed me many gracious fauours at the affectionate commendation of my Cousen, M.  
 24 Thomas Smith, the sonne of Sir Thomas, shortly after Colonel of the Ardes in Ireland. But the noble Earle, not disposed to trouble his Iouiall mind with such Saturnine paltery, stil continued, like his magnificent selfe: and that Fleeting also proued, like the other: a silly  
 28 bullbeare, a sorry puffe of winde, a thing of nothing. But a strong imagination pierceth deeply: and the Paper Fleete will not bee so answered. Iesu, what would such notable fellowes write, or rather would they not write, if they could probably say, or fantastically  
 32 surmise by me, as I can evidently proue by them? But I seeke not the condemnation of the deade, or the disgrace of the liuing: but the good amendement of the one, by the naughty example of the other. And for mine own farther iustification in the premisses, or otherwise:  
 36 I had rather my larger writings and other actions should plead for

mee, than this, or any flighte Letter : wherein I am not to infourme  
 pregnant conceits, that may imagine more by a little : or to addresse  
 any peece of mine own history, though wiser men in case of vn-  
 worthy reproch, haue not made nice to vndertake their owne 4  
 defence, and euen to labour their owne commendation. The plau-  
 sible Examples of Tully, Cato, Marius, Scipio, diuers such vertuous  
 Romanes, and fundry excellent Greekes, are famously knowen : but  
 not greatly fit for euery mannes imitation. Were other of my dispo- 8  
 sition, small time should be lost in auenging, or debating verball  
 iniuries, especially to my selfe : who can verie well suffer poore spite,  
 to shoote at mee, and to hitte himselfe : and sometime smile at the silly  
 flie, that will needs martyr it selfe in my candle. But me thinkes, 12  
 the wildest head, and desperatest mind should consider : they that  
 speake it must not looke to heare well : the worlde is not giuen to  
 pocket vp infamies : who cannot returne-home a Quippe, or requite  
 one libell with an other ? nothing more common in bookes, or more 16  
 ready in mouthes, than the Inuective vaine, and the whole Arte of  
 railing : some schollers haue choyce of nimble pennues, & smooth  
 tongues at commandement : & there was a time, when paraduenture  
 I coulde speake with them, that talked we me. Though the case be 20  
 altered : and I now, none of the hastiest to striue for those bucklers :  
 yet a general, a special, a glowing, a piercing indignitie may rekindle  
 some little sparkes of courage, and affection will be affection, though  
 not in proper reuenge, yet the common duetie, I am not to dispute 24  
 the nature of Force, or the force of nature, who knoweth not, how  
 violentlie force prouoketh force : or how mightilie nature worketh in  
 compatible natures ? But how far publike obiections, or famous  
 imputations require publike aunswers : or how insufficient the formal- 28  
 left Iudiciall remedie in any one Court, may seeme, in case of a  
 printed diffamation, that with the winges of Mallice in some, of  
 Enuie in more, and of Leuity in most, flieth through the Realme,  
 and ouer the Sea : bee it indifferentlie decided by euerie discreete 32  
 iudgement, or reasonable consideration. Especially when the guiltie  
 part is deceafed : and the iniury not the lesse, but the more notorious.  
 The best is, the persons abused, are not altogether vnknownen, they  
 haue not so euell a neighbour, that euer reade, or hearde those oppro- 36

brious villanies (it is too-mild a name, for my brother Richardes most  
 abhominable Legend, who frameth himselfe to liue as chastely, as the  
 leawde writer affected to liue beastly) but hath presentlie broken out  
 4 into some such earnest, or more passionate speeches: *ô* pestilent  
 knauery, who euer heard such arrant forgeries, and ranke lies? A  
 mad world, where such shameful stufte is bought, and sould: and  
 where such roisterly Varlets may be suffered to play vpon whome  
 8 they lust, and how they lust: Is this *Greene* with the running Head,  
 and the scribbling Hand, that neuer linnes putting-forth new, newer,  
 & newest bookes of the maker? If his other bookes bee as holefome  
 geere, as this, no maruaile, though the gay-man 'conceiue trimlie of  
 12 himselfe, and statelye sorne all beside. *Green*, vile *Greene*, would  
 thou wearest halfe so honest, as the worst of the foure, whom thou  
 vpbraidest: or halfe so learned, as the vnlearnedst of the threc.  
 Thanke other for thy borrowed & filched plumes of some little  
 16 Italianated brauery: & what remaineth, but flat Impudencie, and  
 grosse Detraction: the proper ornaments of thy sweete vtterance? I  
 alleadge not mine owne inuentions, (who cannot forget the two  
 Athenian Temples of Impudencie, and Calummie, when I remember  
 20 him:) I could nominate the Gentlemen, and substantiall Yeoman,  
 Gentlemens fellowes, that vttered much more by his life, and can  
 hardlie forbear him since his death: and who of acquaintance with him,  
 or them, whome hee depraueth, could either partiallie excuse the one,  
 24 or reasonable accuse the other? Their liues effectually speake for  
 themselues: and he that liued not, to see nine and twentie yeares,  
 died not, till the Vniuersitie of Cambridge had bestowed vpon him a  
 grace to bee a Doctor of his facultie, and till hee was reputed in  
 28 Northfolke, where he practised phisicke, a proper toward man, and as  
 skilfull a Phisition for his age, as euer came there: how well beloued  
 of the chiefeest Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen in that Shire, them-  
 selues testifie. That is gone to Heauen, cannot bee recouered on  
 32 Earth: it is our comfort, that he liued in good credite, and died in  
 good minde. I must euer remember some of his notable sayings (for  
 in deede so they were): and can neuer forget that sweete voice of  
 the dying Cignet; *ô frater, Christus est optimus Medicus, & meus*  
 36 *solus Medicus. Vale Galene, valete humanæ Artes: nihil diuinum in*

*terris, præter animum aspirantem ad cælos.* That best and his onelie  
 Phisition knoweth, what spirital phisicke I commended vnto him,  
 when I beheld in his meager and ghastly countenance, that I cannot  
 rehearse without some fit of compassion. Wee must in order follow 4  
 him, that shoulde in nature haue gone before him, and I know not  
 by what destinie, hee followed him first, that foled him last. How  
 he departed, his ghostly mother Ifam, can truliest, and will fauourab-  
 lieft report: how he liued, London remembreth. Oh, what a 8  
 liuelie picture of Vanity? but oh what a deadlie Image of miserie?  
 And oh what a terrible Caueat for such & such? I am not to exten-  
 uate or preiudice his wit, which could not any way be great, though  
 fow way not the least of our vulgar writers & mani-waies very 12  
 vngracious: but who euer esteemed him either wise, or learned, or  
 honest, or anyway credible? how many Gentlemen, and other say of  
 him? Let the paltry fellow go: Lord, what a lewde Companion  
 was hee? What an egregious makeshift, Where shoulde Conny- 16  
 catchers haue gotten such a Secretarie: How shal cofenage do for a  
 new Register: or Phantasticallitye for a new Autor? They wronge  
 him much with their Epitaphes, and other solemne deuises, that  
 entitle him not at the least, The second Toy of London; the Stale of 20  
 Poules, the Ape of Euphues, the Vice of the Stage, the mocker of the  
 simple world: the flowter of his friendes, the Foe of himselfe: and  
 so forth. What durst not hee vtter with his tongue: or diuulge  
 with his Penne: or countenance with his face? Or whome cared 24  
 hee for, but a carelesse crewe of his own associates? Peruse his  
 famous bookes: and in steede of, *Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit*  
*vtile dulci* (that forsooth was his professed Poesie) Loe a wilde head,  
 ful of mad braine and a thousand crochets: a Scholler, a Discourser, 28  
 a Courtier, a ruffian, a Gamester, a Louer, a Souldier, a Trauailer,  
 Merchaunt, a Broker, an Artificer, a Botcher, a Petti-fogger, a Plaver,  
 a Coofener, a Rayler, a beggar, an Omnigatherum, a Gay-nothing:  
 a Stoarehouse of bald and baggage stuffe, vnwoorth the aunfwering, or 32  
 reading: a Triuiall, and triobular Autor for knaues, & fooles: an  
 Image of Idlenes: an Epitome of fantasticalitie: a Mirrour of  
 Vanitie: *Vanitas Vanitatum, & omnia vanitas.* Alasse, that anie  
 shoulde say, as I have heard diuers affirme: His witte was nothing, 36

but a minte of knauerie: himselfe a deuifer of iugling feates: a forger  
of couetous practises: an Inuentour of monstuous oathes: a derider  
of all religions: a contemner of God, and man: a desperate Lucian-  
4 ift: an abhominable Aretinift: an Arch-Athiest: and he arch-de-  
ferued to be well hanged seauen yeares agoe. Twenty, and twentie  
such familiar speeches I ouer passe: and bury the whole Legendary  
of his Life, & Death, in the Sepulchre of eternall Silence. I will not  
8 condemne, or censure his workes, which I neuer did so much as  
superficially ouer-runne, but as some fewe of them occurrsly pre-  
sented themselues in Stationers shops, and some other houses of my  
acquaintaunce. But I pray God, they haue not done more harme by  
12 corruption of manners, then good by quickening of witte: and I  
would, some Buyers had either more Reason to discerne, or lesse  
Appetite to desire such Nouels. The world is full inough of  
fooleries: though the humor be not fasted with such luxurious, and  
16 riotous Pamphlets. Howe vnlike *Tullies* sweete Offices: or *Ifocrates*  
pithy instructions: or *Plutarches* holesome Moralls: or the dilicate  
Dialogues of *Xenophon*, and *Plato*: or the sage Tragedies of *Sophocles*,  
and *Euripides*: or the fine Comedies of the dainetiest Atticke wittes,  
20 or other excellent monumentes of antiquity, neuer sufficientlie perused?  
Yet the one as stale, as oldest fashions: and what more freshly current  
for a while, then the other? Euen *Guicciardines* siluer Historie, and  
*Ariostos* golden Cantoos, grow out of request: & the Countesse of  
24 *Pembrookes* Arcadia is not greene inough for queasie stomackes, but  
they must haue *Greenes* Arcadia: and I beleue, most eagerlie longed  
for *Greenes* Faerie Queene. O straunge fancies: ô monstuous new-  
fanglednesse. The wittier sort tasteth, & flieth: as the Dog from  
28 Nilus: other wantons find Experience the mistris of fooles: and need  
no other pennance but their owne repentaunce. The verie Time  
confuteth Vanitie: and the verie place requireth sobrietie. No  
publike security without priuate moderation: and the more bondes of  
32 gouernment, the more indefeasible assurance. Due Circumspection may  
do much good, and an abundant Cautele can do little hurt. Youth  
is youth: & age corruptible: better an hundred Ouides were banished,  
then the state of Augustus endangered, or a soueraigne Empire  
36 infected. Especially in a tumultuous age, and in a world of warre:

wherein not Bacchus, but Mars: not Venus, but Mercury; not Ryot,  
 but Valour; not Phanfy, but Pollicy, must strike the stroke. Gallant  
 Gentlemen, be-thinke your selues of the olde Romane Discipline, and  
 the newe Spanish indusstry: and I am not to trouble you with any 4  
 other accusation of them, that condemne themselves, and neede no  
 other shame, or punishment, but their own woorkes. Onely I request  
 some busy pennes to stay their wisedomes: and either to publish a  
 iustifiable trueth, or to conceale their bad disposition. Woe to that 8  
 study, that mispendeth pretious Time, and consumeth it self, in need-  
 lesse, and bootlesse quarrels. Comparisons, they say, are odious: but  
 Inuectiues more odious: & what so abhominable, as forged &  
 suborned calumnies? One, or two miserable examples may stand for 12  
 an hundred: I will not aggrauate or discoure particulars: A pitiful  
 case, that such lusty beginninges should haue such sorry ends: and  
 who can tell, what dowty yoonker may next gnash with his teeth?  
 Terrible Creatures, and the curst Cowe, haue sometime short hornes. 16  
 The wildest Colte is soone tamed: and be like neither Death, nor  
 Shame, nor Misery are affraid of them, that vaunt themselves, Like  
 vnto Death, and Will Sommer, in sparing none. God helpe, and  
 Charity pittie them, that haue neither hability to help, nor witt to pitie 20  
 themselves: but will needs try a conclusion betweene their heads,  
 and the next wall. I haue heard of Gyants in conceit, and Pigmeis  
 in performance: yong Phaetons, younge Icary, young Chorœbi, and  
 I shall say young Babingtons, and how many millions of greene 24  
 youthes, haue in ouermounting, most ruefully dismounted, and left  
 behinde them full-lamentable Histories? For the very mention of  
 some direfull Tragedies, were horrible, and what so wretched, as head-  
 long enterprises: or so hideous, as the desperate attempt of Impossi- 28  
 bilities? *Philostratus* in his Icones, pleasurably reporteth, according to  
 to the tradition of Greeke Poets, how on a time, A resolute bande of  
 dowty Pigmies, triumphantly marched to inuade *Hercules* asleepe.  
 Woe to such braue aduentures. *Æsops* Toade, A proud aspiring 32  
 Creature, shamefullie ouermatched her swelling, and bursten selfe.  
 Great, and small things may in some proportion be compared together;  
 and beholde as miserable a spectacle, in their kinde. Flourishing *M.*  
*Greene* is most-wofully faded, and whilest I am bemoaning his ouer- 36

pittious decay; & discourfing the vfuall fucceffe of fuch ranke wittes,  
 Loe, all on the fuddaine, his fworne brother, M. *Pierce Penni-leffe*,  
 (ftill more paltery, but what remedy? we are already ouer rhoes and  
 4 muft now goe through) Loe his inwardeft companion, that tafte of  
 the fatall herringe, cruelly pinched with want, vexed with difcredite,  
 tormented with other mens felicitie, and ouerwhelmed with his owne  
 mifery; in a raving, and franticke moode, moft desperately exhibiteth  
 8 his fupplication to the Diuell. A ftrange title, an od wit, and a mad  
 hoorefon, I warrant him: doubtles it wil proue fome dainty deuife,  
 queintly contrined by way of humble Supplication To the high and  
 mighty Prince of Darkeneffe: not Dunfically botched-vp, but right-  
 12 formally conueied, according to the ftile, and tenour of Tarletons pre-  
 fident, his famous play of the feauen Deadly finnes: which moft-  
 dea[d]ly, but moft liuely playe, I might haue feene in London: and  
 was verie gently inuited thereunto at Oxford, by *Tarleton* himfelfe, of  
 16 whome I merrily demaunding, which of the feauen, was his owne  
 deadlie finne, he bluntly aunfwered after this manner; By God, the  
 finne of other Gentlemen, Lechery. Oh but that, M. *Tarleton*, is not  
 your part vpon the ftage, you are too-blame, that diffemble with the  
 20 world & haue one part for your friends pleasure, an other for your  
 owne. I am fomewhat of Doctor Pernes religion, quoth he: and  
 abruptlie tooke his leaue. Surely it muft needes bee current in  
 matter, and autenticall in forme, that had firft fuch a learned prefident:  
 24 and is now pleafantlie interlaced with diuers new-founde phrafes of  
 the Tauerne: and patheticallie intermixt with fundry dolefull  
 pageantes of his own ruinous & beggerlie experience. For the poore  
 Tennement of his Purfe, (quoth himfelfe, gramercy good *Tarleton*)  
 28 hath bene the Diuels Dauncing fchoole, anie time this halfe yeare,  
 and I pray God, (quoth another) the poore Tennement of his Heart,  
 hath not alfo bene the Diuels Fencing Schoole, twife as long. Par-  
 ticulars, and Circumftances are tedious, efpecially in forrowfull, and  
 32 forlorne caufes, the fumme of-fummes is. He toft his imagination a  
 thoufand waies, and I beleeeue, fearched euery corner of his Grammer-  
 fchoole witte, (for his margine is as deepeleie learned, as *Faufte præcor*  
*gelida*) to fee if he coulde finde anie meanes to relieue his eftate, but  
 36 all his thoughtes, and marginal notes, confortd to his conclufion.



That the worlde was vncharitable, and he ordained to be miserable. It were cruelty, to ad affliction to affliction: what flintly Heart would not figh or rather melt, to heare the bewailefull moane of that sobbing, and groaning Muse, the daughter of most-pregnant but most-wretched *Niobe*?

*Why ist damnation, to despaire, and die,  
When Life is my true happines diseafe?*

And a little after:

8

*Diuines, and dying men may talke of Hell:  
But in my Heart, her seuerall tormentes dwell.*

And so forth most-hideouslie.

For the Text is much more dolefull, then the Glosse: and who 12 would not be moued with more pittifull compunction, to heare the lamentable Farewell.

*England adieu, the soile that brought me forth:  
Adieu vnkinde, where Skill is nothing worth:*

16

Then to read that profound Quotation,

*Heu mihi, quam paucos hæc mea dicta mouent?*

Which was thought Patheticall out of crie.

*Forgiue him God, although he curse his Birth,  
Since Miserie hath dawnted all his Mirth.*

20

Now good sweete Muse, I beseech thee by thy delicate witte, and by all the queintest Inuentions of thy deuifeful braine, cast not thy drearie selfe headlong into the horrible Gulph of Desperation: but 24 being a Creature of so singular, and wonderfull hope, as thy inspired courage diuinelie suggesteth, and still reare-vp mountaines of highest Hope: and either gallantie aduance thy vertuous self, maugre Fortune: (what impossible to aspiring industry?) or mightilie enchant 28 some magnificent Mecœnas, (for thou canst doe it) to honour himselfe in honouring thee; and to blisse the eies of the gazing worlde, with beholding those Miracles, which some round liberality, and thy super-

thankfull minde, would hugelie enable thee to worke. Let it neuer be said, that the Minion of the Muses, should forsake himself, or abandon them, whose very shadowes he adoreth. A braue Hart, in  
 4 extreamest distresse, neuer languisheth: no such affrighting Death, or gnawing Hell, as the deuouring Abyffe of dispaire. Yet better a man without money, then money without a man: Penniless is not his purse but his minde: not his reuenue, but his resolution: A man is a  
 8 man though he haue but a hose vpon his head: for euerie curse, there is a blessing; for euerie malady, a remedie; for euerie winter, a sommer: for euerie night a day, a dog hath a day.

*Noctia pluit tota: redeunt spectacula manè.*

12 Right magnanimitie neuer droupeth, sweet Musike requickeneth the heauiest spirites of dumpish Melancholy: fine Poetry abhorreth the loathsome, and vgly shape of forlorne pensuenes: what gentle minde detesteth not cursed, and damnable desperation? All abiect doleful-  
 16 nes, is woefully base, and baselie woefull. The die, the ball, the sponge, the siue, the wheele of Fortune, Fortune hirselfe, a trifle, a iest, a toy in Philosophy, & diuine resolution. Be a Musitian, & Poet vnto thy self, that art both, and a Ringleader of both, vnto  
 20 other; be a Man, be a Gentleman, be a Philosopher, be a Diuine, be thy resolute selfe; not the Slaue of Fortune, that for euery fleabiting crieth out-alas, & for a few hungry meales, like a Greeke Parasite, misuseth the Tragedy of Hecuba: but the friend of Vertue, that is  
 24 richest in pouerty, freest in bondage, brauest in ieopardie, cheerefullest in calamitie, be rather wise, and vnfortunate, with the siluer Swanne, then fortunate & vnwise, with the golden Asse: remember thine owne marginal Embleme, *Fortuna fauet fatuis*. Oh, solace thy miraculous  
 28 selfe, and cheere the Muses in cheering thy daintie soule, sweetelie drunken with their delitious Helicon, and the restorative Nectar of the Gods. What can I say more? That cordial liquor, and that heauenly restorative, bee thy soueraigne comfort: and scorne the  
 32 basenes of euerie crafed, or fainting thought, that may argue a degenerate minde. And so much briefly touching thy deere selfe: whome I hope neuer to finde so pathetically distressed, or so Tragically disguised againe.

Now a word, or two concerning him, who in charitie kisseth thy hand, and in pitie wisheth thee better lucke. May it please gentle Pierce, in the diuine fury of his rauished spirite, to be graciouſlie good vnto his poore friendes, who would be ſomewhat loath, to be filly 4 ſheepe for the wolfe, or other ſheepe-biter: I dare vndertake, the abuſed Autor of the Aſtrologically diſcourſe, (euerie page thereof, vnder correſtion of inſpired and ſupernaturall conceits, diſcouereth more Arte, and Iudgement, then the whole Supplication of the Parturient 8 Mountaine) notwithstanding the notorious Diabolicall diſcourſe of the faide *Pierce*, a man better acquainted with the Diuels of Hell, then with the Starres of Heauen: ſhall vnfaignedly pray for him: and onely pray him to report the knowne truth, of his approoued learning, & 12 liuing, without fauor. Otherwiſe, it were not greatlie amiſſe, a little to conſider, that he, which in the ruſſe of his freſheſt iouility, was fauie to cry, *M. Churchyard*, a mercy in printe, may be orderlie driuen to crie more peccauiſes, then one. I would thinke the Counter, *M. 16 Churchyard*, his hoſtiſſe *Penia*, and ſuch other ſenſible Leſſons, might ſufficientlie haue taught him, that *Pennileſſe* is not Lawleſſe: and that a Poets or Painters Licence, is a poore ſecurity, to priuiledge debt, or diffamacion. I woulde wiſh the burned child not to forget 20 the hot Element: and would aduiſe ouer-weening youthes, to remember themſelues, and the good auncient oracle of ſage *Apollo*. There is a certaine thing, called Modeſtie, if they could light vpon it: and by my younge Maſters leaue, ſome pritty ſmacke of diſcretion would 24 reliſh well. The Athenians were noted for lauſh ampliſeng, the Cretenſians for craſtie lying, the Theſſalians for ſubtle cogging: the Carthaginians for deceitfull perſidie: *Hanniball*, *Fabius*, *Agathocles*, *Iphicrates*, *Vliſſes*, and a thouſand ſuch, for counterfeit pollicie, but 28 all their forgeries were ſeaſoned with the ſalt of probabilitie, & onelie viſed at occaſions of aduantage: and although the Grecians generallie were ouer-lightheaded, and vaine-ſpoken, yet their leuitie fauored of elegant wittineſſe, and the flying birde carried meate in the mouth. 32 Euen Lucians true Tales are ſpiced with conceits: and neither his, nor Apuleius Aſſe, is altogether an Aſſe. It is a piece of cunning in the moſt fabulous Legends, to interlace ſome credible narrations, & verie probable occurrences, to countenance and authorize the exceſſiue 36

licentiousnesse of the rest. Vnreasonable fictions palpably bewray  
 their odious grosseesse: and hee that will be a famous deuifer in  
 folio, must be content with the reward of a notable Lier, not to be  
 4 credited, when he auoweth a trueth. The pleasant man talketh of a  
 Batchelors hoode, turned ouer his eares, for abusing of Aristotle: an  
 imagineth goodlie matters of casting the Heauens water: of anatom-  
 izing the skies intrailles: of the vniuersal adulterie of Planets, of the  
 8 bawd of those celestial bodies: how Saturne, & Jupiter proued  
 honest men, then al the world took them for: o braue Tarlton  
 thou wert hee, when all is done, had not Aretine bene Aretine, when  
 he was, vndoubtedlie thou hadst beene Aretine, gramercy capricious,  
 12 and transcendent witte, the onelie high Pole Artique, and deepe  
 Minerall of an incomparable stile. Yet Tarltons Iests not sufficient:  
 but Roscius must haue his Stale, to make him more admirable: al  
 were nothing, vnlesse Eldertons ale-crammed nose, had beene con-  
 16 fumed to nothing, in beare-baiting him, with whole bundels of  
 ballats: that forsooth is not so good a gentleman, (for euery heire of  
 a Nash is a good gentleman at the least as the heard of Thomas Nash,  
 the maister butler of Pembroke Hal whose graue countenance, like  
 20 Cato able to make him runne out of his wittes for feare, if he looke  
 sternely vpon him, and I wot not what, and what trumperie else, as  
 childish, & garish stuffe, as euer came in print, yet what packe of  
 vanity is not in print, I will not cry, Absurde, Absurde: as hee madly  
 24 exclaimeth, Monstrous, Monstrous: But who in that Vniuersity can  
 deny, but M. Haruey read the publike Philosophie Lecture with special  
 good liking, and many will say with singular commendation, when  
 this mightie lashing Gentleman (now well read in the late exploites  
 28 of Vntruffe, and for Tarletons amplifications A per se A) was not so  
 much as *idoneus auditor ciuilis scientiæ*. What hee is improved since,  
 excepting his good olde *Flores Poetarum*, and Tarletons furrmounting  
 Rhetorique, with a little Euphuisme, and Greeneesse inough, which  
 32 were all prettily stale, before he put hand to penne. I report me to  
 the fauourablest opinion of those that know his Prefaces, Rimes, and  
 the very Timpanye of his Tarltonizing wit, his Supplication to the  
 Diuell, oh that is the Diuell & al. I am so farre from doting vpon  
 36 mine owne, or my Brothers Writings, in any matter of moment,

that I vse to censure them with a more curious and rigorous iudgement, then I examine any thing else, wherein my eare is so loath to flatter me, & my conceit so affraid to cosen me, that my mind euer remaineth vn-satisfied, & nothing hitherto could fulfill my desire, 4  
insatiably couetous to do better. But as those perfunctorie Discourses are (which were more hastilie, then speedilie published without my priuity) let the best of them goe for wast paper, & serue the basest shops, if the worst of them importe not more publike, or 8  
priuate vse, then his gayest flower, that may thanke *Greene*, & *Tarlton* for his Garland. Were my brother, not my brother, but some familiar acquaintance, I might in Trueth, & should in Reason, make other comparifons, with applause inough: (for what indifferencie 12  
seeth not the differences, or what so filly, as he could make *Pierce*, with voice, or pen? notwithstanding those Miracles of the white rauen in the cloudes): But the Vniuersitie, the Cittie, the whole Realme, all good Learning, & ciuil Gouvernement, be their Iudge, & 16  
my mouth especially in this Martinish and Counter-martinish age: wherein the Spirit of Contradiſtion reigneth, and euerie one superaboundeth in his owne humor, euen to the annihilating of any other, without rime, or reason. Some would bee Mutes, if they might bee 20  
suffered to be, as were meetest for them, and onelie to dwell in the excellent monuments of diuine wittes whose sweet company they cannot enioy inough, but what is to be done, when vowels are coursed, & Mutes haunted, and that heauenlie conference hellishlie 24  
disturbed, God, or good Order, circumsife the Tongues, and Pennes, that flander without cause, and raile without effect, euen in the superlatiue degree of raving. Aretine; and the Diuels Oratour might very-well bee spared in Christian, or Politicke Common 28  
wealthes: which cannot want contagion inough, though they bee not poysoned with the venomous potions of Inckhorne witches. Fine pleasant witt was euer commendable: and iudiciall accusation lawfull: but fie on grosse scurility, and impudent calumny: that wil rather 32  
goe to Hell in iest, then to heauen in earnest, and seeke not to reforme any vice, to backebite, and depraue euery person, that feedeth not their humorous fancy. A vile mind: and what a pestelenter villany? but some odd wittes forsooth, will needes bee accompted 36

terrible Bull Beggars, and the onely Killcows of their age; for how should they otherwife keepe the fimple world in awe: or scare multitudes of plaine folke, like idiot crowes, and innocent dooues.

4 All the Inuectiue, and Satyricall Spirites, are their Familiars: scoffing, and girding is their daily bread: other professe other faculties: they professe the Arte of railing: Noble, Reuerend, or whatfoeuer, al pefants, and clownes: gowty Diuels, and buckram Giants: Midaffes,

8 and golden Affes: Cormorants, and Drones; Dunces, and hypocriticall hoat spurres; Earth wormes, and Pinchefart Penny-fathers: that feede not their hungry purfes, and eager stomackes: they haue termes,

12 quoth a maruellous doer, steeped in *Aqua Fortis*, and Gunnepouder, that shal rattle through the skies, and make Earthquakes in such pefauntes eares, as shal dare to sende them awaie with a flea in their eare: (howe might a man purchase the sight of those puissant and hideous termes?) they can lash poore slaues, and spurgall Affes

16 mightily; they can tell parlous Tales of Beares and Foxes, as shrewdly as mother Hubbard, for her life: they will dominiere in Tauernes, and Stationers shops, to die for 't: they will be as egregiously famous, as euer was *Herastratus*, or *Pausanias*, or *Kett*, or *Scoggin*: *Agrippa*,

20 and *Rabelays* but Ciphers to them: they haue it onely in them. Would Christ, they had more discretion in them, and lesse rancour against other, that neuer wished them the least euill, but still beseech GOD to encrease the best, and to pardon the worst in them. The

24 Quippe knoweth his rewarde, and the Supplication to the Diuell, expressly dedicated to the Prince of Darkenesse, I comitte to the censure of Wisedome, and Iustice, with fauour: onelye requesting that mightie Bombarder of termes, to spare quiet men that meane him no

28 harme, and to keepe the huge maine shot of his ratling Babies for Buckrame Giants. Alasse, what should I touch their parents, or twit them by their other friendes: Let it be one of their iolities to offer, & one of our simplicities to suffer that iniury: which neither

32 impaireth the reputation of the Father: nor abaseth the credite of the Sonnes: nor argueth any thing, but the impudent despightfulnesse of the Libeller. Fewe Sonnes haue felinger cause to loue, or reuerence, or defend their Fathers, then my selfe: but his dealing is such, where

36 he tradeth: and his liuing such where he conuerfeth, that he may

eaſely ſhame himſelfe, which goeth-about to ſhame him, or vs in him. I will not trouble you with the rehearſall of his inheritance, which I could haue wiſhed more then it was, yet was it more, by the fauour of that terrible Thunderſmith of termes, then the inheritances 4 of both their Fathers together. Put caſe, I haue inquired, what ſpeciall cauſe the Pennileſſe Gentleman hath, to bragge of his birth : which giueth the woefull poueretto good leaue, euen with his Stentors voice, & in his ratling terms, to reuiue the pittifull hiftorie of 8 Don Lazarello de Thoemes : to contend with colde, to conuerſe with ſcarcitie : to be laid-open to pouertie : to accuſe Fortune : to raile on his patrons, to bite his penne, to rend his papers, to rage in all points, like a mad man, to torment himſelfe in that agony a long time ; to 12 be miſerable, to be *vacuus viator* : to haue *opus and uſus* knocking at his doore twenty times a weeke, when he is not within : to ſeek his dinner in poules with Duke humfrey : to licke diſhes, to be a beggar. 16

*To ban the Aire, wherein he breathes A wretch :*

to be the Diuels diſtreſſed Orator, to proclaime his owne deſolate and abieſt eſtat, in theſe & ſuch other moſt-baſe, and ſhamefull complaints, ſcarcely beſeeming the rafcalleft fiſer in an Vniuerſity, or 20 the beggarleft mendicant frier in a country.

*Forgiue him God, although he curſe his birth.*

I, but who ſo exceſſiuely thankefull to his other friends ? One kind freend, more worth then two vnfreendlie kinfemen. Affection will 24 relieue, where nature faileth : he muſt needes abound in deuoted and bountifull freendes, that ſheweth himſelfe ſo meritoriouſly freendlie, and ſo vnſpeakeably gratefull.

*O friendes, no friendes that then vngentlie frowne.*

28

*When changing fortune caſts vs headlong downe.*

I had nigh-hand ouer-ſkipped the learned allegation in the margine, ſolemnely auouched with a very-patheticall Pol, *Pol me, occidiſtis Amici*. All which, and moſt of the Premiſſes, I had altogether 32 omitted, but that the two vnmeete Companions, a Lordes heart, and

a beggars purse must somewhat remember themselves, or be a little,  
 as it were, pulled by the ragged sleeve. Young schollers can tel how  
 Vlysses handeled Irus, and olde Truants haue not altogether forgot-  
 4 ten, howe sawfie the Harpies were, till they were interteined accord-  
 ingly. But what though the decayed Gentleman, so commendeth  
 his owne woorthfull birth, and trusty freendes? Many noble  
 Houses haue seene their own ruines: and sometime the brothers of  
 8 the Prodigall Sonne, will not sliue to curse, wher they should  
 reuerently blesse. The Table-fellow of Duke Humfrey, & Tantalus,  
 might learne of him to curse Iupiter, and to ban not onely the four  
 Elementes, but also the seauen Planets, and euen the twelue houses  
 12 of Heauen. And what though the other forry Magnifico, as very a  
 Bifonian, as he for hys life, would sweare in a brauery, his Father  
 was of foure & twenty religions: and himselfe a Diuine from his  
 mothers womb: an Image of both Churches, & both Synagogues  
 16 too: a naturall Perne artificially emproved: the thrise-and-thrife-  
 learned sonne, of his foure & twenty times-learned father? So  
 Greene would flourish. Euery man is to answere for hys owne  
 defaultes: my trespasse is not my fathers, nor my fathers mine: A  
 20 Gibeline may haue a Guelph to his sonne, as Barthol saith: & hath  
 neuer a Saint had a Reprobate to his father? are all worthy minds,  
 the issues of noble houses: or all base mindes, the ofsprings of rascall  
 stockes? Were it not a felicity, to be the woofst of a thousande,  
 24 that being descended of meanest parentage, haue proued, as Histories  
 testify, & the world daily confirmeth? Or might not Greene, and his  
 Complices, haue bene much better, then they were, or are, although  
 their Parentes had bene much worse, then they were, or are?  
 28 What saith the afflicted Suppliant himselfe?

*Ah woorthlesse wit, to traine me to this woe:*

*Ill thrive the Folly, that bewitch'd me so.*

Haue we not a number of excellent industrious men and valorous  
 32 knights, not greatly beholding vnto Fortune for their progeny?

*Malo pater tibi sit Theseus, who knoweth not that onely Arte of  
 Heraldry?*

*Quem tu Theseus similem producat Achilles.*



The Argument of Nobility, is a gallant, and plaufible argument : but what Common-place ſo braue, and honourable, as the Common-place of vertue? Can any thing bee obſcure, where deſert is famous : or any thing famous, where deſert is obſcure? Gramercy ſweete 4  
 margine, for that notable Poefy : *Meritis expendite cauſam* : in earneſt, a ſingular Rule of infallible iudgemente : and I imagine, himſelfe deſerueth ſomethinge, that ſpecially alleadgeth Deſerte. It is longe, ſince I declaimed vpon any Theame : but who would not 8  
 pleade Vertues cauſe, in whatſoever ſubiecte? or what honeſt Eloquence is not furniſhed with Catilinaries, & Phillippiques againſt Vice? Not the Father, & the Sonne, but Vertue, and Vice, the efficientes of Honour, and Diſhonour. He onely baſe, he onely 12  
 ſimple, he onely contemptible, that hath Vice to his father, & Ignorance to his mother : the onely Parentes of raſcality. And may I not truly affirme, that not only Oſorius, or Patritius gallantly proue, but all wiſe Autors ſeriously approue, and euen Vertue, & Skill them- 16  
 ſelues, with their owne ſoueraigne mouths honorably profeſſe? No right ſonne, & heire apparant of theirs either vnnoble in himſelfe, or obſcure in the world : or deſpiſed in the higheſt, or vnregarded of the loweſt : or diſhonorable in his Life, or inglorious after his Death. I 20  
 ſpeake not for any perſon, but for the matter : and cannot eyther condignely praiſe the valorous ſeede of the one : or ſufficiently bliſſe the fruitfull wombe of the other. And what ſo vngentle in Nature, or ſo vnnoble in Fortune, as their Contraries : how barbarouſly 24  
 oppoſed againſt that diuine race and heavenly generation : that cannot ſturre, vnaccompanied with Enuy, and a worlde of moates? Yet neither the vnhappieſt creature vtterly deuoide of all graces : (I praiſe ſomethinge in Elderton, and Greene :) nor the excellenteſt perſonage 28  
 thoroughly accompliſhed with all perfections (ah, that Sir *Humfrey Gilbert*, and Sir *Phillip Sidney*, hadd bene as cautelous, as aduenturous :) nor they, that obieſt, nor we, that anſweare, nor any, but a few ſingular men, the Miracles of the world ; either for wit wondrous, 32  
 or for Art exquisite, or for action admirable, or for integrity notable. I-wis, we little neede, to be charged with our fathers offences : it is inough for one, yea for the beſt one, to carry the burden of his owne tranſgreſſions, and errours. Errours are infinite : and follies how 36

vniuerſally riſe, euen of the wiſeſt ſorte? Oh that vertues wére as  
 like the ſtarres of heauen, or the birds of the Aire, as vices are like  
 the ſandes of the Sea, and the Beaſtes of the Earth; hee that ſeeith  
 4 leaſte, ſeeith much amiſſe: the fine Diſcouerer, and curious Intelli-  
 gencer, goe inuiſible, & ſtratagematically diſcry many hidden priuities  
 of publique and priuate miſgouernment: there is an eie, that pierceth  
 into the ſecreteſt finnes, and moſt inſcrutable thoughtes of profoundeſt  
 8 Hypocriſy: in whoſe pure ſight nothing is iuſtifiable, but by pardon.  
 Diuinity flyeth highe: and wadeth deepe: But euen in Humanity,  
 & in the view of the world, who liueth inculpable? or who is not  
 obnoxious to ſome criminall, or ciuill actions? or,

- 12     *Where ſhud I find, that I ſeeke, A perſon cleere as a Chriſtal?*  
        *Where man God to man? where one not Diu'l to an other,*  
        *Where that Zeal diuine, whoſe heauenly Sunſhine acheerith*  
        *The dreeryeſt drouping; and fell'ſt rancour alayeth?*  
 16.     *Where thoſſame mealting bowels of tender agreement,*  
        *That mildly conquer moſt-rough, and hideous outrage?*  
        *Where Moſes meeknes? wher Dauids ſweetnes Olimpique?*  
        *Where that ſame gentle kindnes, that bounty renowned,*  
 20     *That gracious fauour, that whilom bewtiſ'd Honour:*  
        *That Looue aduanced, that abandoned odious Hatred:*  
        *That Sirenixed Furies: that rocks Adamantine*  
        *Mollifi'd: arreared Pillars of Glory triumphant?*

- 24 And ſo foorth: for the verſe is not vnknown: & runneth in one of  
 thoſe vnſatyricall Satyres, which M. *Spencer* long ſince embraced  
 with an ouerlooing Sonnet: A token of his Affection, not a Teſtimony  
 of hys Iudgement. What ſhould I labour a needleſſe point? or what  
 28 ſhould I weary you with tediousneſſe, that may much-better beſtow  
 your vacant houres? Enough, to any is enough: to ſome, ouer-much.  
 God knoweth, and who knoweth not, how ſenſually corrupt ſome  
 good fellowes were, and are, that ſo ſharpely, and bitterly noted, and  
 32 do note, ſo many imaginatiue corruptions in other. Would God,  
 they had bene as quietly diſpoſed, as their parentes: or as aduiſedly  
 ſtayed, as ſome of their frendes, that wiſhed them a milder courſe: &  
 ſome of our pens might haue bene employed to better uſe, then this

idle bufineffe, or rather bufy idleneffe. Whereof I defire no other fruite, but fome little contentation of friendes, and fome reasonable mitigation of ill-willers: vnto whose good I am diligently to addresse, & euen affectionately to dedicate any my endeouour. If in 4  
 fome tearmes I haue vsed a little plaine dealing, albeit not without respecte, (but euery one seeith not into an others confiderations: & diuers Circumstances alter the case) I craue pardon for the least ouer-  
 fight: and will be as ready to commend any little good, euen in an 8  
 aduersary: as I was vnwillinge, but enforced to touch soome palpable badd: which I would wish amended, where it may be redressed: and quite forgotten, where it ought to be buried. My meaning was not, to displeasure, or discredite any: but onely to satisfie the pleasure, 12  
 and mainetaine the credite of those vnto whom I owe many duties, aswell in speciall consideration as in naturall affection. Had I not bene more depely stinged in them, then in my selfe: who haue made Comedies of such Tragedies, and with pleasure giuen such 16  
 hoat-spurres leaue, to run themselues out of breath: what folio of folly might not for me haue passed vntouched? or who for me, might not haue flourished, or lashed in Poules Church yarde, *Cum gratia & Priuilegio*? It were good, that they, which haue 20  
 a dexterity in writing trimly vpon euery matter, white, or blacke: should also haue a felicity in speaking well vpon euery person, that deserueth not ill: especially such as can say something and thinke more. The terriblest tearmes may be repayed-home with 24  
 aduauntage: I haue knowen the raylingest Sophister in an Vniuersity, sett *non plus*: and haue seene the mad-braynest Roisterdoister in a countrey, dashte out of countenance. There is Logicke inough, to aunswere Carters Logicke: and playe inough, to tame 28  
 Horse-play. Wronged men are seldome tounge-tied: the patientest Creature wanteth not bloud in his hart, or incke in his penne; and although his bloud be not wild-fire, yet it is bloud; that will not be cooled with a Carde, or daunted with bugs-words: and although 32  
 his incke, be not pitch, or poison, yet it is incke; that will neither blushe for shame, nor waxe pale for feare; but will holde his owne, when perhaps gayer coullours shal loofe their coullor; and *Aqua fortis* valiantly eate his owne harte. Good sweete Masters, quiet 36

your selues : or thincke not much, to beare a little for company, that  
 are so forward to load other without mercy. No man loather then  
 my selfe, to contend with desperate Malecontentes : or to ouerthwart  
 4 obstinate Humoristes : or to encounter Incke-horne Aduentures : nor  
 to quarrell with any sorte of wrangling Companions : (skoldinge is  
 the language of shrewes : and raylinge the stile of Rakehells :) or so  
 much as to call busy heads, by their vsuall and proper names : (the  
 8 thinges are paltry : and the very names fauour of rascallity :) but  
 there is a time, when such douty warriours must be appeased ; &  
 such wise men answered according to their wisdom. Howbeit, in  
 fauour of a priuate, and publike quietnesse, I will thanke the honest  
 12 fellowes the more, they lesse occasion they geue me, to interrupt  
 better exercises : to trouble the world with trifling discourses vpon  
 pelting matters : to disease themselves : to pleasure none, but the  
 printer, & idle creatures, the onely busy readers of such Nouellets.  
 16 I would gladly be especially beholdinge vnto them for this courtesy :  
 and dare vndertake it shall redounde more to their credite, to approue  
 their desire of reconciliation, by silence : then to continue the opinion  
 of their rooted despight, by stirring more coales. I hope this winde  
 20 hath not shaken any such corne, but fellow-schollers, (as Doctor  
 Caius would say) and now forsooth fellow-writers, may bee made  
 friendes, with a cup of white wine, and some little familiar confer-  
 ence, in calme and ciuill termes. I offer them my hande : and  
 24 request their : which I will accept thanckfully, & kisse louinglye :  
 and euer commend the good Nature, that would, and the better  
 Gouvernement, that coulde, master Affection with Reason, and  
 sweeten gall with Humanity. For it is not my energetically perswasion,  
 28 but their owne pathetically motion, that must doe it : as the enchant-  
 ing Muse of Orpheus redeemed the ghastly ghost of his owne Euridice  
 out of Hell. Such an Experimente of profounde, and diuine Arte,  
 as I would compassionately recommend to every amiable minde,  
 32 disguised with hellish passion : the foulest deformity of any fayre  
 wit. Otherwise, if it stande more with their credite, to be reputed  
 willfull, then wise : or if a peruerse, and froward resolution, be the  
 better pollicy : they are free-men : and haue incke at will, and paper  
 36 at commaundement : and a number of greedy Eares, that egerly

longe, and as it were, daunce attendaunce, to heare those dreadfull  
 inuincible termes, steeped in *Aqua fortis*, & Gunpowder. The  
 intoxicate sprite of the grisly Euridice (I speake to a Poet: and  
 cannot more mildly terme that infernall Fury) may eftsoones 4  
 returne to her accursed lodginge, and in steede of heauenly Orpheus,  
 embrace the hellish Oratour of the Blacke Prince: whome I will not  
 any way make worfe, but wold with infinitely better, then he hath  
 made himselfe. For I thancke God, I am neither so profanely 8  
 vncharitable, as to send him to the Sancebell, to trusse vp his life with  
 a trice: nor so abiectly timorous, as for extreme fearefulness to wish,  
 with a professed deuotion: So be it: Pray Penne, Incke, and Paper on  
 their knees, that they may not bee troubled with him any more. Good 12  
 Lorde, what fantastickall panges are these? who euer endighted in such  
 a stile, but one diuine *Aretine* in Italy, & two heauenly *Tarletons* in  
 England: the sole platformers of odd Elocution, and onely singular-  
 ities of the plaine worlde? Two of them, that so wantonly played 16  
 with the highest and deepest subiectes of spirituall contemplation:  
 Heauen, and Hell, Paradise, and Purgatory: know their locall repose:  
 and seriously admonish the third, to be aduised, how he lauish in such  
 dalliance. No variety, or infinity so infinite, as Inuention: which 20  
 hath a huge worlde, and a maine Ocean of scope, to disport, and  
 raunge it selfe, though it arreare not wayne Hyperboles of the  
 reuerende mysteries of God. Good sweete Oratour, be a deuine Poet  
 indeede: and vse heauenly Eloquence indeede: and employ thy 24  
 golden talent with amounting vsance indeede: and with heroicall  
 Cantoes honour right Vertue, & braue valour indeede: as noble Sir  
 Philip Sidney, and gentle Maister Spencer haue done, with immortall  
 Fame: and I will bestow more complements of rare amplifications 28  
 vpon thee, then euer any bestowed vpon them: or this Tounge euer  
 afforded: or any Aretinish mountaine of huge exaggerations can  
 bring-foorth: Right artificiality, (whereat I once aimed to the vtter-  
 most power of my slender capacity,) is not mad-brained, or ridiculous, 32  
 or absurd, or blasphemous, or monstrous: but deepe-conceited, but  
 pleasurable, but delicate, but exquisite, but gracious, but admirable:  
 not according to the fantastickall mould of *Aretine*, or *Rabelays*, but  
 according to the fine modell of *Orpheus*, *Homer*, *Pindarus*, & the ex- 36

cellenteſt wittes of Greece, and of the Lande, that flowed with milke,  
 and hony. For what Feſtiuall Hymnes, ſo diuinely dainty, as the  
 ſweete Pſalmes of King Dauid, royally translated by *Buchanan*? or  
 4 what ſage Gnomes, ſo profoundly pithy, as the wiſe Prouerbes of King  
 Salomon; notably alſo translated: but how few *Buchanans*? Such  
 liuely ſpringes of ſtreaming Eloquence: & ſuch right-Olympicall  
 hilles of amountinge witte: I cordially recommend to the deere  
 8 Louers of the Muſes: and namely to the profeſſed Sonnes of the-  
 fame; *Edmond Spencer, Richard Stanhurſt, Abraham France, Thomas*  
*Watſon, Samuell Daniell, Thomas Naſh,* and the reſt: whome I  
 affectionately thancke for their ſtudious endeouours, commendably  
 12 employed in enriching, & poliſhing, their native Tongue, neuer ſo  
 furniſhed, or embellished, as of-late. For I dare not name the Hon-  
 orabler Sonnes, & Nobler Daughters of the ſweeteſt, & diuineſt  
 Muſes, that euer ſang in Engliſh or other language: for feare of  
 16 ſuſpition of that, which I abhorre: and their owne moſt delectable,  
 and delicious Exerciſes, (the fine handy-worke of excellent Nature,  
 and excellenter Arte combined) ſpeake incomparably more, then I  
 am able briefly to inſinuate. Gentle mindes, and flouriſhing wittes,  
 20 were infinitely to blame, if they ſhould not alſo for curious imitation,  
 propoſe vnto themſelues ſuch faire Types of refined, and engraced  
 Eloquence. The right Noouice of pregnant, and aſpiring conceit,  
 wil not ouer-ſkippe any precious gemme of Inuention, or any beauti-  
 24 full floure of Elocution, that may richly adorne, or gallantly bedecke  
 the trimme garland of his budding ſtile. I ſpeake generally to euery  
 ſpringing wit: but more ſpecially to a few: and at this inſtante  
 ſingularly to one: whom I ſalute with a hundred bleſſings: and  
 28 entreate with as many prayers, to loue them, that loue all good wittes:  
 and hate none, but the Diuell, and his incarnate Impes, notoriously  
 profeſſed. I proteſt, it was not thy perſon, that I any-way diſliked:  
 but thy raſh, and deſperate proceeding againſt thy well-willers:  
 32 which in ſome had bene vnſufferable: in an youth, was more  
 excuſable: in a reformed youth is pardonable: and rather matter of  
 concordance, then of aggrieuance. I perſuade my ſelfe, rather to  
 hope the beſt, then to feare the worſt: & euer wiſh vnto other, as I  
 36 would wiſh other, to wiſh vnto mee. It is my earneſt deſire, to

begin, and ende such friuolous altercations at once : and were it not more for other, then for my selfe, assuredly I would be the first, that should cancell this impertinent Pamflet : and throw the other twoo Letters, with the Sonnets annexed, into the fire. Let them haue 4 their swinge, that affect to be terribly singular : I desire not to be a blacke Swanne : or to leaue behinde me any Period in the stile of the Diuels Oratour : or any verse in the vaine of his Dammes Poet : but rather couet to be nothing in printe, then any thinge in the stampe of 8 needeleffe, or fruitlesse Contention. As I am ouer-ruled at this presente, and as it standeth now . I am not to be mine owne Iudge, or Aduocate : but am contente to bee sentenced by euery courteous, or indifferente peruser, that regardeth honesty in persons, or trueth in 12 testimonies, or reason in causes. Or seeing some matters of Fame are called in question : I am not onely willing, but desirous to vnderlye the verdicte, euen of Fame her-selfe ; and to submit our whole credites, to the voice of the people, as to the voice of Equity, and the 16 Oracle of God : to whose gracious fauours he recommendeth your Courtesy, that neither flattereth the best : nor slandereth the worst : nor willfully wrongeth any : but professeth duety to his superiours : humanity to his equals : fauour to his inferiours : reason to all : And 20 by the same Rule, oweth you amends for the premisses : not speedily dispatched, but hastily bungled-vp as you see. London : this 8. and 9. of September.

*The friend of his frendes, & foe of none.* 24





Five Sections of  
*"Palladis Tamia.*

WITS  
 T R E A S V R Y

Being the Second part  
*of Wits Common*  
 wealth.

By  
*Francis Meres Maister*  
 of Artes of both Vni-  
 uerfities.

*Vuütur ingenio, cætera mortis erunt.*

AT LONDON  
 Printed by P. Short, for Cuthbert Burbie, and  
 are to be folde at his shop at the Royall  
 Exchange. 1598."

## Poetrie.

[leaf 275] As in a Vine clusters of grapes are often hidde vnder the  
 broade and spacious leaues : so in deepe conceited, and well couched  
 4 poems, figures and fables, many things, verie profitable to be knowne,  
 doe passe by a yong scholler. *Plut.*

As according to *Philoxenus*, that flesh is most sweete which is no  
 flesh ; and those the delectablest fishes, which are no fishes : so that  
 8 Poetrie dooth most delight which is mixt with Philosophie ; and that  
 Philosophie, which is mixt with Poetrie. *Plutarchus in Commentario,*  
*quomodo adolescens Poetas audire debet.*

As a Bee gathereth the sweetest and mildest honie from the bit-  
 12 terest flowers, & sharpest thornes : so some profite may bee extracted  
 out of obscene and wanton Poems, and fables. *idem.*

Albeit many be drunke with wine, yet the Vines are not to bee  
 cut downe, as *Lycurgus* did, but Welles and Fountaines are to bee  
 16 digged neare vnto them : so although manie abuse poetrie, yet it is  
 not to bee banished, but discretion is to bee vsed, that it may bee  
 made holesome. *Idem.*

As Mandrake growing neare Vines, doth make the wine more  
 20 mild : so philosophie bordering vppon poetrie dooth make the  
 knowledge of it more moderate. *idem.*

As poyson mixt with meate is verie deadlie : so lasciuiousnesse  
 and petulancie in poetrie mixt with profitable and pleasing matters is  
 24 very pestilent. *idem.*

[leaf 276] As we are delighted in deformed creatures artificiallye  
 painted : so in poetrie, which is a liuely adumbration of things, euil  
 matters ingeniously contriued do delight.

28 As Phisitians vse for medicine the feete and wings of the flies  
*Cantharides*, which flies are deadly poyson : so we may gather out of  
 the same poem, that may quell the hurtfull venome of it ; for poets

do alwaies mingle somewhat in their Poems, wherby they intimate that they condemne, what they declare. *idem*.

As our breath doth make a shiller sound being sent through the narrow channell of a Trumpet, then if it be diffused abroad into the 4 open aire : so the well knitte and fuccinct combination of a Poem, dooth make our meaning better knowen and discerned, then if it were deliuered at random in prose. *Seneca*.

As he that drinkes of the Well *Clitorius*, doth abhorre wine : so 8 they that haue once tasted of poetry, cannot away with the studie of philosophie ; after the same maner holdes the contrarie.

As the Anabaptists abhorre the liberall artes and humane sciences : 12 so puritanes and precifians detest poetrie and poems.

As Eloquence hath found many preachers and orators worthy fauourers of her in the English tounge : so her sister poetry hath found the like welcome and entertainment giuen her by our English poets, which makes our language so gorgeous & delectable among vs, 16

As Rubarbe and Sugarcandie are pleasant & profitable : so in poetry ther is sweetnes and goodnes. *M. Iohn Haring. in his Apologie for poetry before his translated Ariosto.*

Many cockney and wanton women are often sicke, but in faith 20 they cannot tell where : so the name of poetrie is odious to some, but neither his cause, nor effects, neither the summe that contains him, nor the particularities descending from him, giue any fast handle to their carping dispraise. *Sir Philip Sidney in his Apologie* 24 *for poetry.*

### Poets.

As some do vse an Amethift in comutations agaynst drunkennes : 28 so certain precepts are to be vsed in hearing and reading of poets, least they infect the mind. *Plut. & Plin. lib. 37. cap. 9.*

As in those places where many holtsome hearbes doe growe, there also growes many poysonfull weedes : so in Poets there are many excellent things, and many pestilent matters. *Plut.* 32

[leaf 277] As *Simonides* sayde, that the *Theffalians* were more

blockish, then that they could be deceiued of him : so the riper and  
pregnanter the wit is, the sooner it is corrupted of Poets. *idem*.

As *Cato* when he was a scholler woulde not beleue his maister,  
4 except hee rendered a reason of that he taught him : so wee are not  
to beleue Poets in all that they write or say, except they yeelde a  
reason. *Idem*.

As in the same pasture the Bee feafeth on the flower, the Goate  
8 grazeth on the shrub, the swine on the root, and the Oxen, Kine &  
Horses on the grasse : so in Poets one seeketh for historie, an other  
for ornament of speech, another for prooffe, and an other for precepts  
of good life. *idem*.

12 As they that come verie suddainlie out of a very darke place, are  
greatly troubled, except by little and little they be accustomed to the  
light : so in reading of Poets, the opinions of Phylosophers are to bee  
fowne in the mindes of young schollers, leaft many diuerfities of  
16 doctrines doe afterwarde distract their mindes. *idem*.

As in the portraiture of murder or incest, we praise the Art of  
him that drewe it, but we detest the thing it selfe : so in lasciuious  
Poets let vs imitate their elocution, but execrate their wantonnes.  
20 *idem*.

Some things that are not excellent of themselues, are good for  
some, because they are meet for them : so some things are com-  
mended in Poets, which are fit and correspondent for the persons,  
24 they speake of, although in themselues they bee filthy and not to be  
spoken : As lame *Demonides* wished, that the shoes that were stolne  
from him, might fit his feet that had stoln them. *idem*.

As that ship is endangered, where all leane to one side, but is in  
28 safetie, one leaning one way, and another another way : so the  
dissenfion of Poets among themselues, doth make them, that they  
lesse infect their readers. And for this purpose our Satyrists, *Hall*,  
*the Author of Pigmaliions Image*, and certaine *Satyres*, *Rankins*, and  
32 such others, are very profitable.

As a Bee doth gather the iuice of honie from flowres, whereas  
others are onely delighted with the colour and smel : so a Philosopher  
findeth that among Poets which is profitable for good life, when as  
36 others are tickled only with pleasure. *Plut*.

As wee are delighted in the picture of a Viper or a spider artificially enclosed within a precious iewell: so Poets do delight vs in y<sup>e</sup> learned & cunning depainting of vices.

[leaf 278] As some are delighted in counterfet wines confected of 4 frutes, not that they refresh the hart, but that they make drunke: so some are delighted in Poets only for their obscenity, neuer respecting their eloquence good grace, or learning.

As Emperors, kings and princes haue in their handes authority to 8 dignifie or disgrace their nobles, attendants, subiects and vassals: so Poets haue the whole power in their handes to make men either immortally famous for their valiant exploits and vertuous exercises, or perpetually infamous for their vicious liues. 12

As God giueth life vnto man: so a Poet giueth ornament vnto it.

As the Greeke and Latine Poets haue wonne immortall credit to their natieue speech, beeing encouraged and graced by liberall patrones 16 and bountifull Benefactors: so our famous and learned Lawreast masters of England would entitle our English to far greater admired excellency, if either the Emperor *Augustus*, or *Octauia* his sifter, or noble *Mecænas* were aliue to rewarde and countenance them; or if 20 our witty Comedians and stately Tragedians (the glorious and goodlie representers of all fine witte, glorified phrase and quaint action) bee still supported and vphelde, by which meanes for lacke of Patrones (ô ingratefull and damned age) our Poets are soly or chiefly main- 24 tained, countenanced and patronized.

In the infancy of Greece, they that handled in the audience of the people, graue & necessary matters, were called wise men or eloquent men, which they ment by *Vates*: so the rest, which sang of 28 loue matters, or other lighter deuises alluring vnto pleasure and delight, were called *Poetæ* or makers.

As the holy Prophets and sanctified Apostles could neuer haue foretold nor spoken of such supernaturall matters, vnlesse they had 32 bin inspired of God: so *Cicero* in his Tusculane questions is of y<sup>e</sup> minde, that a Poet cannot expresse verses abundantly, sufficiently, and fully, neither his eloquence can flow pleasantly, or his wordes sound well and plenteously, without celestiall instinct; which 36

Poets themselves do very often and gladly witness of themselves, as namely *Ovid* in 6. *Faßt*.

*Est Deus in nobis agitante calescimus illo, &c.*

- 4 And our famous English Poet *Spenser*, who in his *Sheepeheards Calender* lamenting the decay of Poetry at these dayes, faith most sweetly to the fame.

*Then make thee wings of thine aspiring wit*

- 8 *And whence thou comest fly backe to heauen apace, &c.*

[leaf 279] As a long gowne maketh not an Advocate, although a gowne be a fit ornament for him : so riming nor versing maketh a Poet, albeit the Senate of Poets hath chosen verse as their fittest  
12 rayment; but it is y<sup>t</sup> faining notable images of vertues, vices, or what else, with that delightfull teaching, which must bee the right describing note to knowe a Poet by. *Sir Philip Sidney* in his *Apology for Poetry*.

- 16 A comparatiue discourse of  
our English Poets, with the  
*Greece, Latine, and Italian Poets.*

20 As Greece had three Poets of great antiquity, *Orpheus, Linus* and *Musæus* : and *Italy*, other three auncient Poets, *Liuius Andronicus, Ennius & Plautus* : so hath England three auncient Poets, *Chaucer, Gower* and *Lydgate*.

24 As *Homer* is reputed the Prince of Greek Poets ; and *Petrarch* of Italian Poets : so *Chaucer* is accounted the God of English Poets.

As *Homer* was the first that adorned the Greek tongue with true quantity : so *Piers Plowman* was the first that obserued the true  
28 quantitie of our verse without the curiositie of Rime.

*Ovid* writ a Chronicle from the beginning of the world to his own time, that is, to the reign of *Augustus* the Emperour : so hath  
*Harding* the Chronicler (after his maner of old harsh riming) from  
32 *Adam* to his time, that is, to the raigne of King Edward the fourth.

As *Sotades Maronites* y<sup>e</sup> Iambicke Poet gaue himselfe wholly to write impure and lasciuious things: so *Skelton* (I know not for what great worthines, furnamed the Poet Laureat) applied his wit to scurrilities and ridiculous matters, such among the Greeks were called 4 *Pantomimi*, with vs Buffons.

As *Consaluo Periz* that excellent learned man, and Secretary to King *Philip* of Spayne, in translating the *Ulysses* of *Homer* out of Greeke into Spanishe, hath by good iudgement auoided the faulte of 8 Ryming, although not fully hit perfect and true versifying: so hath *Henrie Howarde* that true and noble Earle of *Surrey* in translating the fourth book of *Virgils Æneas*, whom *Michael Drayton* in his *Englands heroycall Epistles* hath eternized for an Epistle to his faire 12 *Geraldine*.

As these Neoterickes *Iouianus Pontanus*, *Politianus*, *Marullus Tarchaniota*, the two *Strozæ* the father and the son, *Palingenius*, [lea 280] *Mantuanus*, *Philelphus*, *Quintianus Stoa* and *Germanus Brixius* 16 haue obtained renown and good place among the auncient Latine Poets: so also these English men being Latine Poets, *Gualter Haddon*, *Nicholas Car*, *Gabriel Haruey*, *Christopher Ocland*, *Thomas Newton* with his *Leyland*, *Thomas Watson*, *Thomas Campion*, *Brun-* 20 *sward & Willey*, haue attained good report and honorable aduancement in the Latin Empyre.

As the Greeke tongue is made famous and eloquent by *Homer*, *Hesiod*, *Euripedes*, *Aeschilus*, *Sophocles*, *Pindarus*, *Phocylides*, and 24 *Aristophanes*; and the Latine tongue by *Virgill*, *Ouid*, *Horace*, *Silius Italicus*, *Lucanus*, *Lucretius*, *Ansonius* and *Claudianus*: so the English tongue is mightily enriched, and gorgeously inuested in rare ornaments and resplendent abilliments by Sir *Philip Sidney*, *Spencer*, 28 *Daniel*, *Drayton*, *Warner*, *Shakespeare*, *Marlow* and *Chapman*.

As *Xenophon*, who did imitate so excellently, as to giue vs *effigiem iusti imperij*, the portraiture of a iust Empyre vnder y<sup>e</sup> name of *Cyrus* (as *Cicero* saith of him) made therein an absolute heroically 32 Poem; and as *Heliodorus* writ in prose his sugred inuention of that picture of Loue in *Theagines* and *Cariclea*, and yet both excellent admired Poets: so Sir *Philip Sidney* writ his immortal Poem, *The Countesse of Pembrookes Arcadia*, in Prose, and yet our rarest Poet. 36

As *Sextus Propertius* saide; *Nescio quid magis nascitur Iliade*: so I say of *Spencers Fairy Queene*, I knowe not what more excellent or exquisite Poem may be written.

4 As *Achilles* had the aduantage of *Heſtor*, becauſe it was his fortune to bee extolled and renowned by the heauenly verſe of *Homer*: so *Spencers Eliſa* the *Fairy Queen* hath the aduantage of all the Queenes in the worlde, to bee eternized by ſo diuine a Poet.

8 As *Theocritus* is famoused for his *Idyllia* in Greeke, and *Virgill* for his *Eclogs* in Latine: so *Spencer* their imitatour in his *Shepheardes Calender*, is renowned for the like argument, and honoured for fine Poeticall inuention, and moſt exquisite wit.

12 As *Parthenius Nicæus* excellently fung the praiſes of his *Arete*: so *Daniel* hath diuinely ſonetted the matchleſſe beauty of his *Delia*.

As euery one mourneth, when hee heareth of the lamentable plangors of *Thracian Orpheus* for his deareſt *Euridice*: so euery one  
16 paſſionateth, when he readeth the afflicted death of *Daniels* diſtreſſed *Rofamond*.

[leaf 28r] As *Lucan* hath mournefully depainted the ciuill wars of *Pompey* & *Cæſar*: so hath *Daniel* the ciuill wars of *Yorke* and  
20 *LANCASTER*; and *Drayton* the ciuill wars of *Edward* the ſecond, and the Barons.

As *Virgil* doth imitate *Catullus* in y<sup>e</sup> like matter of *Ariadne* for his ſtory of Queene *Dido*: so *Michael Drayton* doth imitate *Ouid* in  
24 his *Englands Heroical Epistles*.

As *Sophocles* was called a Bee for the ſweetneſſe of his tongue: so in *Charles Fitz-Iefferies Drake*, *Drayton* is termed *Golden-mouth'd*, for the purity and pretiouſneſſe of his ſtile and phraſe.

28 As *Accius*, *M. Attilius* and *Milithus* were called *Tragædiographi*, becauſe they writ Tragedies: so may wee truly terme *Michael Drayton* *Tragædiographus*, for his paſſionate penning the downfalls of valiant *Robert of Normandy*, chaſt *Matilda*, and great *Gauſton*.

32 As *Ioan. Honterus* in Latine verſe writ 3 Bookes of coſmography w<sup>t</sup> Geographically tables: so *Michael Drayton* is now in penning in Engliſh verſe a Poem called *Polu-olbion* Geographical and Hydrographically of all the foreſts, woods, mountaines, fountaines, riuers,  
36 lakes, flouds, bathes and ſprings that be in England.



As *Aulus Perſius Flaccus* is reported among al writers to be of an honeſt life and vpright conuerſation : ſo *Michael Drayton* (*quem toties honoris & amoris cauſa nomino*) among ſchollers, ſouldiours, Poets, and all ſorts of people, is helde for a man of vertuous diſpoſition, 4 honeſt conuerſation, and wel gouerned cariage, which is almoſt miraculous among good wits in theſe declining and corrupt times, when there is nothing but rogerie in villanous man,<sup>1</sup> & when cheating and craftines is counted the cleaneſt wit, and ſoundeſt wiſedome. 8

As *Decius Auſonius Gallus in libris Faſtorum*, penned the occurrences of y<sup>e</sup> world from the firſt creation of it to his time, that is, to the raigne of the Emperour *Gratian* : ſo *Warner* in his abſolute *Albions Englande* hath moſt admirably penned the hiftorie of his own country 12 from *Noah* to his time, that is, to the raigne of Queene *Elizabeth* ; I haue heard him termd of the beſt wits of both our Vniuerſities, our Engliſh *Homer*.

As *Euripedes* is the moſt ſententious among the Greeke Poets : ſo 16 is *Warner* among our Engliſh Poets.

As the ſoule of *Euphorbus* was thought to liue in *Pythagoras* : ſo the ſweete wittie ſoule of *Ouid* liues in mellifluous & hony-tongued *Shakeſpeare*, witnes his *Venus* and *Adonis*, his *Lucrece*, his fugred 20 [leaf 282] Sonnets among his priuate friends, &c.

As *Plautus* and *Seneca* are accounted the beſt for Comedy and Tragedy among the Latines : ſo *Shakeſpeare* among y<sup>e</sup> Engliſh is the moſt excellent in both kinds for the ſtage ; for Comedy, witnes his 24 *Gentlemen of Verona*, his *Errors*, his *Loue labors loſt*, his *Loue labours wonne*, his *Midſummers night dreame*, & his *Merchant of Venice* : for Tragedy his *Richard the 2.* *Richard the 3.* *Henry the 4.* *King John*, *Titus Andronicus* and his *Romeo and Iuliet*. 28

As *Epius Stolo* ſaid, that the Muſes would ſpeake with *Plautus* tongue, if they would ſpeak Latin : ſo I ſay that the Muſes would ſpeak with *Shakeſpeares* fine filed phraſe, if they would ſpeake Engliſh. 32

As *Muſcæus*, who wrote the loue of *Hero* and *Leander*, had two excellent ſchollers, *Thamarus* & *Hercules* : ſo hath he in England two

\* An expreſſion quoted from the Firſt Part of "Henry the 4," which is named in the correſponding line of the next page.

excellent Poets, imitators of him in the same argument and subiect,  
*Christopher Marlow, and George Chapman.*

As *Ouid* saith of his worke;

- 4 *Iamque opus exegi, quod nec Iouis ira, nec ignis,  
 Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.*

And as *Horace* saith of his; *Exegi monumentum ære perennius;  
 Regalique situ pyramidum altius; Quod non imber edax; Non Aquilo*  
 8 *impotens possit diruere; aut innumerabilis annorum series & fuga*  
*temporum: so say I feuerally of fir Philip Sidneys, Spencers, Daniels,*  
*Draytons, Shakespeares, and Warners workes;*

- Non Iouis ira: imbres: Mars: ferrum: flamma, senectus,*  
 12 *Hoc opus vnda: lues: turbo: venena ruent.*  
*Et quanquam ad plucherrimum hoc opus euertendum tres illi Dij*  
*conspirabunt, Cronus, Vulcanus, & pater ipse gentis;*  
*Non tamen annorum series, non flamma, nec ensis,*  
 16 *Æternum potuit hoc abolere Decus.*

As Italy had *Dante, Boccace, Petrarch, Tasso, Celiano* and *Ariosto*:  
 so England had *Mathew Roydon, Thomas Atchelow, Thomas Watson,*  
*Thomas Kid, Robert Greene & George Peele.*

- 20 As there are eight famous and chiefe languages, *Hebrew, Greek,*  
*Latine, Syriack, Arabicke, Italian, Spanish* and *French*: so there are  
 eight notable feuerall kindes of Poets, *Heroick, Lyricke, Tragicke,*  
*Comicke, Satiricke, Iambicke, Elegiacke & Pastoral.*  
 24 As *Homer* and *Virgil* among the Greeks and Latines are the  
 chiefe Heroick Poets: so *Spencer* and *Warner* be our chiefe heroicall  
 Makers.

- As *Pindarus, Anacreon* and *Callimachus* among the Greekes;  
 28 [leaf 283] and *Horace* and *Catullus* among the Latines are the best  
 Lyrick Poets: so in this faculty the best among our Poets are *Spencer*  
 who excelleth in all kinds) *Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Bretton.*

- As these Tragicke Poets flourished in Greece, *Aeschylus, Euripedes,*  
 32 *Sophocles, Alexander Aetolus, Achæus Erithriæus, Aftydamas Athe-*  
*neinfs, Apollodorus Tarsensis, Nicomachus Phrygius, Theſpis Atticus,*  
 and *Timon Apolloniates*; and these among the Latines, *Accius, M.*  
*Attilius, Pomponius Secundus* and *Seneca*: so these are our best for

Tragedie, the Lord *Buckhurst*, Doctor *Leg* of Cambridge, Doctor *Edes* of Oxforde, maister *Edward Ferris*,<sup>1</sup> the Authour of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, *Marlow*, *Peele*, *Watson*, *Kid*, *Shakespeare*, *Drayton*, *Chapman*, *Decker*, and *Beniamin Iohnson*. 4

As *M. Anneus Lucanus* writ two excellent Tragedies, one called *Medea*, the other *de Incendio Troice cum Priami calamitate*: so Doctor *Leg* hath penned two famous tragedies, y<sup>e</sup> one of *Richard the 3.* the other of the destruction of *Ierusalem*. 8

The best Poets for Comedy among the Greeks are these, *Menander*, *Aristophanes*, *Eupolis Atheniensis*, *Alexis Terius*, *Nicostratus*, *Amiphas Atheniensis*, *Anaxandrides Rhodius*, *Aristonymus*, *Archippus Atheniensis* and *Callias Atheniensis*; and among the Latines, *Plautus*, *Terence*, 12 *Næuius*, *Sext. Turpilius*, *Licinius Imbrex*, and *Virgilius Romanus*: so the best for Comedy amongst vs bee, *Edward Earle* of Oxforde, Doctor *Gager* of Oxforde, Maister *Rowley* once a rare Scholler of learned *Pembroke Hall* in Cambridge, Maister *Edwardes* one of her 16 Maiesties Chappell, eloquent and wittie *John Lilly*, *Lodge*, *Gascoyne*, *Greene*, *Shakespeare*, *Thomas Nash*, *Thomas Heywood*, *Anthony Mundaye* our best plotter, *Chapman*, *Porter*, *Wilson*, *Hathway*, and *Henry Chettle*. 20

As *Horace*, *Lucilius*, *Iuuenall*, *Perfius* & *Lucullus* are the best for Satyre among the Latines: so with vs in the same faculty these are chiefe, *Piers Plowman*, *Lodge*, *Hall* of *Immanuel Colledge* in Cambridge; the Authour of *Pigmaliions Image*, and certaine *Satyrs*; 24 *the Author of Skiaetheia*.

Among the Greekes I wil name but two for *Iambicks*, *Archilochus Parius*, and *Hipponax Ephesus*: so amongst vs I name but two Iambical Poets, *Gabriel Haruey*, and *Richard Stanyhurst*, bicause 28 I haue seene no mo in this kind.

As these are famous among the Greeks for Elegie, *Melanthus*, *Mymnerus Colophonius*, *Olympius Myfius*, *Parthenius Nicæus*, [leaf 284] *Philetas Cous*, *Theogenes Megarensis* and *Pigres Halicarnaf-* 32

<sup>1</sup> It is usually believed that this is an error for George Ferrers. But Meres, here as elsewhere, follows Puttenham, who writes:

"That for Tragedie, the Lord of Buckhurst, and Maister *Edward Ferrys*; for such doings as I haue sene of theirs do deserue the hiest price:" [praise]. *The Arte of English Poesie*, 1599. (Arber's Reprint, p. 77.)

*Jæus*; and these among the Latines, *Mecænas*, *Ouid*, *Tibullus*, *Propertius*, *T. Valgius*, *Cassius Seuerus* & *Clodius Sabinus*: so these are the most passionate among vs to bewaile and bemoane the perplexities  
 4 of Loue, *Henrie Howard Earle of Surrey*, *fir Thomas Wyat the elder*,  
*fir Francis Brian*, *fir Philip Sidney*, *fir Walter Rawley*, *fir Edward*  
*Dyer*, *Spencer*, *Daniel*, *Drayton*, *Shakespeare*, *Whetstone*, *Gascoyne*,  
*Samuell Page* sometimes fellowe of *Corpus Christi* Colledge in Oxford,  
 8 *Churchyard*, *Bretton*.

As *Theocritus* in Greeke, *Virgil* and *Mantuan* in Latine, *Sanazar*  
 in Italian, and the Authour of *Amyntæ Gaudia* and *Walsinghams*  
*Melibæus* are the best for pastorall: so among vs the best in this kind  
 12 are *fir Philip Sidney*, master *Challener*, *Spencer*, *Stephen Gaffon*,  
*Abraham Fraunce* and *Barnefield*.

These and many other *Epigrammatists* y<sup>e</sup> Latin tongue hath, *Q.*  
*Catulus*, *Porcius Licinius*, *Quintus Cornificius*, *Martial*, *Cn. Getulicus*,  
 16 and wittie *fir Thomas Moore*: so in English we haue these, *Heywood*,  
*Drante*, *Kendal*, *Bastard*, *Davies*.

As noble *Mecænas* that sprung from the *Hetruscan* Kinges not  
 onely graced Poets by his bounty, but also by beeing a Poet himselfe;  
 20 and as *James the 6.* nowe king of Scotland is not only a fauorer of  
 Poets, but a Poet, as my friend master *Richard Barnefielde* hath in  
 this Disticke passing well recorded:

*The King of Scots now liuing is a Poet,*  
 24 *As his Lepanto, and his furies show it:*

so *Elizabeth* our dread foueraign and gracious Queene is not only a  
 liberal patrone vnto Poets, but an excellent Poet herselfe, whose  
 learned, delicate and noble Muse surmounteth, be it in *Ode*, *Elegy*,  
 28 *Epigram*, or in any other kind of Poem *Heroicke*, or *Lyricke*.<sup>1</sup>

*Octauia* sister vnto *Augustus* the Emperour was exceeding bounti-  
 full vnto *Virgil*, who gaue him for making 26. verses, 1137 pounds,  
 to wit, tenne *Sestertiaes* for euerie verse, which amount to aboue 43

<sup>1</sup> So Puttenham, at the last reference:

"But last in recitall and first in degree is the Queene our soueraigne Lady, whose learned, delicate, noble Muse, easily surmounteth all the rest that haue written before her time or since, for sence, sweetnesse and subtiltie, be it Ode, Elegie, Epigram, or any other kinde of poeme Heroick or Lyricke," &c.

pounds for euery verse : so learned *Mary*, the honorable Countesse of *Pembrook*, the noble sister of immortall sir *Philip Sidney*, is very liberall vnto Poets ; besides thee is a most delicate Poet, of whome I may say, as *Antipater Sidonius* writeth of *Sappho* : 4

*Dulcia Mnemosyne demirans carmina Sapphus,  
Quæsiuit decima Pieris unde foret.*

[leaf 285] Among others in times past, Poets had these fauourers, *Augustus*, *Mecænas*, *Sophocles*, *Germanicus*, an Emperour, a noble 8 man, a Senatour, and a Captaine : so of later times Poets haue these patrones, *Robert* king of Sicil, the great king *Frances* of France, king *James* of Scotland, & Queene *Elizabeth* of England.

As in former times two great Cardinals, *Bembo* & *Biena*, did 12 countenance Poets : so of late yeares two great preachers haue giuen them their right hands in felowship, *Besa* and *Melancthon*.

As the learned philosophers *Fracaſtorius* and *Scaliger* haue highly prized them : so haue the eloquent Orators *Pontanus* and *Muretus* very 16 gloriously estimated them.

As *Georgius Buckananus Iepthe*, amongst all moderne Tragedies is able to abide the touch of *Aristotles* precepts, and *Euripedes* examples : so is *Bishop Watsons Alſalon*. 20

As *Terence* for his translations out of *Apollodorus* & *Menander*, and *Aquilius* for his translation out of *Menander*, and *C. Germanicus Augustus* for his out of *Aratus*, and *Anſonius* for his translated *Epigrams* out of Greeke, and Doctor *Johnſon* for his *Frogge-fight* out of *Homer*, 24 and *Watſon* for his *Antigone* out of *Sophocles*, haue got good commendations : so these versifiers for their learned translations are of good note among vs, *Phæder* for *Virgils Aeneads*, *Golding* for *Ouids Metamorphoſis*, *Harington* for his *Orlando Furioſo*, the translators of 28 *Senecaes Tragedies*, *Barnabe Googe* for *Palingenius*, *Turberuile* for *Ouids Epistles* and *Mantuan*, and *Chapman* for his inchoate *Homer*.

As the Latines haue these *Emblematists*, *Andreas Alciatus*, *Reuſnerus*, and *Sambucus* : so we haue these, *Geſſrey Whitney*, *Andrew* 32 *Willet*, and *Thomas Combe*.

As *Nonnus Panapolyta* writ the Goſpell of ſaint *John* in Greeke Hexameters : so *Ieruis Markham* hath written *Salomons Canticles* in Engliſh verſe.

As *C. Plinius* writ the life of *Pomponius Secundus* : so yong *Charles Fitz-Ieffrey*, that high touring Falcon, hath most gloriously penned the honourable life and death of worthy sir *Francis Drake*.

4 As *Hesiod* writ learnedly of husbandry in Greeke : so hath *Tusser* very wittily and experimentally written of it in English.

As *Antipater Sidonius* was famous for extemporall verse in Greeke, and *Ouid* for his *Quicquid conabar dicere versus erat* : so was our  
8 *Tarleton*, of whome Doctour *Casse* that learned phyfitian thus speaketh [leaf 286] in the seuenth Booke, & seuateenth chapter of his Politikes ;  
*Aristoteles suum Theodoretum laudauit quendam peritum Tragœdiarum*  
*actorem ; Cicero suum Roscium : nos Angli Tarletonum, in cuius voce*  
12 *et vultu omnes iocosi affectus, in cuius cerebroso capite lepidæ facetiæ*  
*habitant*. And so is now our wittie *Wilson*, who, for learning and  
extemporall witte in this facultie, is without compare or compeere,  
as to his great and eternall commendations he manifested in his  
16 chalenge at the Swanne on the Banke side.

As *Achilles* tortured the deade bodie of *Hector*, and as *Antonius*,  
and his wife *Fuluia* tormented the liuelesse corps of *Cicero* : so  
*Gabriell Haruey* hath shewed the same inhumanitie to *Greene* that  
20 lies full low in his graue.

As *Eupolis* of Athens vsed great libertie in taxing the vices of  
men : so dooth *Thomas Nashe*, witnesse the broode of the *Harueys*.

As *Actæon* was woored of his owne hounds : so is *Tom Nashe* of  
24 his *Isle of Dogs*. Dogges were the death of *Euripedes*, but bee not  
disconsolate gallant young *Iuuenall*, *Linus*, the sonne of *Apollo* died  
the same death. Yet God forbid that so braue a witte should so  
basely perish, thine are but paper dogges, neither is thy banishment  
28 like *Ouids*, eternally to conuerse with the barbarous *Getes*. There-  
fore comfort thy selfe sweete *Tom*. with *Ciceros* glorious return to  
Rome, & with the counfel *Aeneas* giues to his seabeaten soldiors,  
*lib. 1 Aeneid*.

32 *Pluck vp thine heart, et driue from thence both feare and care away :*  
*To thinke on this may pleasure be perhaps another day.*

*Durato, et temet rebus seruato secundis.*

As *Anacreon* died by the pot : so *George Peele* by the pox.

36 As *Archefilaus Prytanæus* perished by wine at a drunken feast, as

*Hermippus* testifieth in *Diogenes* : so *Robert Greene* died of a surfet taken at Pickeld Herrings, & Rhenish wine, as witnesseth *Thomas Nash*, who was at the fatall banquet.

As *Iodelle*, a French Tragical poet beeing an Epicure, and an 4 Atheist, made a pitifull end : so our tragicall poet *Marlow* for his Epicurisme and Atheisme had a tragicall death ; you may read of this *Marlow* more at large in the *Theatre of Gods iudgments*, in the 25. chapter entreating of Epicures and Atheists. 8

As the poet *Lycophron* was shot to death by a certain riuall of [leaf 287] his : so *Christopher Marlow* was stabd to death by a bawdy Seruingman, a riuall of his in his lewde loue.

#### Painters.

12

*Apelles* painted a Mare and a Dogge so liuelie, that Horses and Dogges passing by woulde neigh, and barke at them ; hee grewe so famous for his excellent Art, that great *Alexander* came often to his shoppe to visite him, and commaunded that none other should paint 16 him ; at his death hee left *Venus* vnfinished, neither was anie euer founde, that durst perfect, what hee had begunne. *Zeuxis* was so excellent in painting, that it was easier for anie man to view his pictures, then to imitate them, who to make an excellent Table, had 20 fise Agrigentine Virgins naked by him ; hee painted Grapes so liuelie, that Birdes did flie to eate them. *Parrhasius* painted a Sheete so artificially, that *Zeuxis* tooke it for a Sheete in deede, and commaunded it to bee taken away to see the picture, that hee thought it 24 had vayled ; as learned and skilfull Greece had these excellently renowned for their limning : so Englande hath these ; *Hiliard*, *Isaac Oliuer*, and *Iohn de Creetes*, very famous for their painting.

As Greece moreouer had these Painters ; *Timantes*, *Phidias*, 28 *Polignotus*, *Paneus*, *Bularchus*, *Eumarus* *Cimon* *Cleonæus*, *Pythis*, *Apollodorus Atheniensis*, *Aristides Thebanus* *Nicophanes*, *Perseus*, *Antiphilus*, and *Nicearchus* : so in Englande wee haue also these ; *William* and *Francis Segar* brethren, *Thomas* and *Iohn Bettes*, *Lockey*, 32 *Lyne*, *Peake*, *Peter Cole*, *Arnolde*, *Marcus*, *Iagues de Bray*, *Cornelius*, *Peter Golchis*, *Hieronimo* and *Peter Vande Velde*.

As *Lyfippus*, *Praxiteles*, and *Pyrgoteles*, were excellent engrauers : fo wee haue thefe engrauers, *Rogers*, *Christopher Switfer*, and *Cure*.

### *Muficke*

4 The Loadstone draweth iron vnto it, but the stone of Aethiopia called *Theamedes* driueth it away : fo there is a kinde of Muficke that dooth affwage and appeafe the affections, and a kinde that doth kinde and prouoke the paffions.

8 As there is no law that hath foueraintie ouer loue : fo there is no heart that hath rule ouer Muficke, but Muficke fubdues it.

As one day takes from vs the credite of another : fo one ftrain of [leaf 288] Muficke extingts the pleafure of another.

12 As the heart ruleth ouer all the members : fo Muficke ouercommeth the heart.

As beautie is no beautie without vertue : fo Muficke is no Muficke without Art.

16 As all thinges loue their likes : fo the moſte curious eare the delicateſt Muficke.

As too much ſpeaking hurts ; too much galling ſmarts : fo too much Muſick gluts and diſtempereth.

20 As *Plato* and *Aristotle* are counted princes in philoſophie and Logicke ; *Hippocrates* and *Galen* in phifick ; *Ptolomie* in Aſtrologie, *Euclide* in Geometrie, and *Cicero* in eloquence : fo *Boëtius* is eſteemed a Prince and captaine in Muficke.

24 As *Prieſts* were famous among the Egyptians ; *Magi* among the Caldeans ; and *Gymnoſophiſtes* among the Indians : fo Muſitians flouriſhed among the Grecians, and therefore *Epaminondas* was accounted more vnlearned then *Themiftocles*, becauſe he had no ſkill in  
28 Muficke.

As *Mercurie* by his eloquence reclaymed men from their barbarouſneſſe and crueltie : fo *Orpheus* by his Muſick ſubdued fierce beaſts, and wild birds.

32 As *Demofthenes*, *Iſocrates*, and *Cicero* excelled in Oratorie : fo *Orpheus*, *Amphion*, and *Linus*, ſurpaſſed in Muficke.



As Greece had these excellent Musitions; *Arion, Dorceus, Timotheus, Milefius, Chryfogonus, Terpander, Lesbius, Simon Magnesius, Philamon, Linus, Stratonicus, Aristonus, Chiron, Achilles, Clinias, Eumonijs, Demodochus, and Ruffinus*: so Englande hath these; 4  
*Maister Cooper, Maister Fairfax, Maister Tallis, Maister Tauerner, Maister Blithman, Maister Bird, Doctor Tie, Doctor Dallis, Doctor Bull, M. Thomas Mud*, sometimes fellow of *Pembrook* hal in *Cambridge*, *M. Edward Iohnson, Maister Blankes, Maister Randall*, 8  
*Maister Philips, Maister Dowland, and M. Morley.*

From "Colin Clouts come home againe.

By Edm. Spencer.

At London Printed by H. L. for Mathew Lownes.

1595. [4to, pp. 80]

Printed by T. Creed for Wm. Ponsfonbie."

And there, though laft not leaft is *ÆTION*,  
A gentler ſhepherd may no where be found :  
Whoſe Muſe, full of high thoughts inuention  
Doth like himſelfe Heroically found.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The dedication of this poem to Sir Walter Raleigh is dated "the 27 of December, 1591." But portions of the poem were ſubſequentlly added, three verſes being certainly written after April 16, 1594.

WILLOBIE  
HIS  
A V I S A.  
OR

The true Picture of a modest Maid, and of a chast and constant wife.

*In Hexamiter verse. The like argument wherof, was neuer heretofore published.*

Read the preface to the Reader before  
you enter further

A vertuous woman is the crowne of her husband, but she that maketh him ashamed, is as corruption in his bones. Prouerb. 12. 4.

Imprinted at London by  
*John Windet.*  
1594.

<sup>1</sup> *In praise of WILLOBIE his AVISA, HEX-  
AMETON TO THE AUTHOR.*

**I**N Lauine Lande though Liuie bost, [1 sign. A 4]  
*There hath beene seene a Constant dame :*  
*Though Rome lament that she haue lost*  
*The Gareland of her rarest fame,*  
*Yet now we see, that here is found, '*  
*As great a Faith in English ground* [6]

*Though Collatine haue deereley bought ;*  
*To high renowne, a lasting life,*  
*And found, that most in vaine haue sought,*  
*To haue a Faire, and Constant wife,*  
*Yet Tarquyne pluckt his glistering grape,*  
*And Shake-speare, paints poore Lucrece rape.* [12]

*Though Susan shine in faithfull praise,*  
*As twinc kling Starres in Christall skie,*  
*Penelop's fame though Greekes do raise,*  
*Of faithfull wiues to make vp three,*  
*To thinke the Truth, and say no lesse,*  
*Our Avisa shall make a messe.* [18]

*This number knits so sure a knot,*  
*Time doubtles, that she shall adde no more,*  
*Vnconstant Nature, hath begot,*  
*Of Fleting Feemes, such fickle store,*  
*Two thousand yeares, haue scarcely seene,*  
*Such as the worst of these haue beene.* [24]

*Then Aui-Susan ioyne in one,*  
*Let Lucres-Auis be thy name,*  
*This English Eagle sores alone,*  
*And farre surmounts all others fame,*  
*Where high or low, where great or small,*  
*This Brytan Bird out-flies them all.* [30]

*Were these three happie, that haue found  
 Braue Poets to depaint their praise?  
 Of Rurall Pipe, with sweetest sound,  
 That haue beene heard these many daies,  
 Sweete wylloby his AVIS blest  
 That makes her mount aboue the rest.*

[36]

*Contraria Contrarijs :  
 Vigilantius : Dormitanus.*

## Cant. XLIIII.

*Henrico Willobego. Italo-Hispalensis.*

H. W. being sodenly infected with the contagion of a fantastickall fit, at the first sight of A, pyneth a while in secret griefe, at length not able any longer to indure the burning heate of so feruent a humour, bewrayeth the secresy of his disease vnto his familiar friend W. S. who not long before had tryed the curtesy of the like passion, and was now newly recouered of the like infection; yet finding his frend let bloud in the same vaine, he took pleasure for a tyme to see him bleed, & in steed of stopping the issue, he inlargeth the wound, with the sharpe rasor of a willing conceit, perswading him that he thought it a matter very easy to be compassed, & no doubt with payne, diligence & some cost in time to be obtayned. Thus this miserable comforter comforting his frend with an impossibilitie, eyther for that he now would secretly laugh at his frends folly, that had giuen occasion not long before vnto others to laugh at his owne, or because he would see whether an other could play his part better then himselfe, & in vewing a far off the course of this louing Comedy he determined to see whether it would sort to a happier end for this new actor, then it did for the old player. But at length this Comedy was like to haue growen to a Tragedy, by the weake & feeble estate that .H. W. was brought vnto, by a desperate vewe of an impossibility of obtaining his purpose, til Time & Necessity, being his best Phisitions brought him a plaster, if not to heale, yet in part to ease his maladye. In all which discourse is liuely represented the vnrewly

rage of vnbyrdeled fancy, hauing the raines to roue at liberty, with the dyuers & sundry changes of affections & temptations, which Will, set loose from Reason, can deuise. &c.

H W
-----

What sodaine chance or change is this,  
 That doth bereaue my quyet rest?  
 What surly cloud eclipst my blisse,  
 What sprite doth rage within my brest?  
 Such fainty qualmes I neuer found,  
 Till first I saw this westerne ground.

[6]

Can change of ayre complexions change,  
 And strike the sences out of frame?  
 Though this be true, yet this is strange,  
 Sith I so lately hither came :  
 And yet in body cannot find  
 So great a change as in my mynd.

[12]

My lustlesse limmes do pyne away,  
 Because my hart is dead within  
 All liuely heat I feele decay,  
 And deadly cold his roome doth win,  
 My humors all are out of frame,  
 I frize amid'st the burning flame.

[18]

I haue the feauer Ethicke right,  
 I burne within, consume without,  
 And hauing melted all my might  
 Then followes death, without all doubt;  
 O fearefull foole, that know my greefe,  
 Yet sew and seeke for no releefe.

[24]

I know the tyme, I know the place,  
 Both when and where my eye did vew  
 That nouell shape, that frendly face,  
 That so doth make my hart to rew,  
     O happy tyme if she inclyne,  
     If not, O wourth theese lucklesse eyne. [30]

I loue the seat where she did sit,  
 I kisse the grasse, where she did tread,  
 Me-thinkes I see that face as yet,  
 And eye, that all these turmoyles breed,  
     I enuie that this seat, this ground,  
     Such frendly grace and fauour found. [36]

I dream't of late, God grant that dreame  
 Protend my good, that she did meete  
 Me in this greene by yonder streame,  
 And smyling did me frendly greete :  
     Where wandring dreames be iust or wrong,  
     I mind to try ere it be long. [42]

But yonder comes my faythfull frend,  
 That like assaultes hath often tryde,  
 On his aduise I will depend,  
 Where I shall winne, or be denyde,  
     And looke what counsell he shall giue,  
     That will I do, where dye or liue. [48]

Cant. XLV.

W. S.
-------

WELL met, frend Harry, what's the cause  
 You looke so pale with Lented cheeks ?  
 Your wanny face & sharpened nose  
 Shew plaine, your mind some thing mislikes,

If you will tell me what it is,  
 Ile helpe to mend what is amisse. [6]

What is she, man, that workes thy woe,  
 And thus thy tickling fancy moue?  
 Thy drousie eyes, & sighes do shoe,  
 This new disease proceedes of loue,  
 Tell what she is that witch't thee so,  
 I sweare it shall no farder go. [12]

A heauy burden wearieth one,  
 Which being parted then in twaine,  
 Seemes very light, or rather none,  
 And boren well with little paine :  
 The smothered flame, too closely pent,  
 Burnes more extreame for want of vent. [18]

So sorrowes shrynde in secret brest,  
 Attainte the hart with hotter rage,  
 Then griefes that are to frendes exprest,  
 Whose comfort may some part asswage :  
 If I a frend, whose faith is tryde,  
 Let this request not be denyde. [24]

Excessiue griefes good counsellis want,  
 And cloud the sence from sharpe conceits,  
 No reason rules, where sorrowes plant,  
 And folly feedes, where fury fretés,  
 Tell what she is, and you shall see,  
 What hope and help shall come from mee. [30]

Cant. XLVI.

H. W.
-------

Seest yonder howfe, where hanges the badge  
 Of Englands Saint, when captaines cry



Victorious land, to conquering rage,  
 Loe, there my hopelesse helpe doth ly:  
 And there that frendly foe doth dwell,  
 That makes my hart thus rage and swell. [6]

## Cant. XLVII.

W. S.
-------

Well, say no more: I know thy grieffe,  
 And face from whence these flames arise,  
 It is not hard to fynd reliefe,  
 If thou wilt follow good aduise:  
 She is no Saynt, She is no Nonne,  
 I thinke in tyme she may be wonne [6]

*Ars veterato-  
ria.*

At first repulse you must not faint,  
 Nor flye the field though she deny  
 You twise or thrise, yet manly bent,  
 Againe you must, and still reply:  
 When tyme permits you not to talke,  
 Then let your pen and fingers walke. [12]

*Munera (cre-  
de mihi) pla-  
cant homi-  
nesque Deos-  
que.*

Apply her still with dyuers thinges,  
 (For giftes the wyfest will deceaue)  
 Sometymes with gold, sometymes with ringes,  
 No tyme nor fit occasion leaue,  
 Though coy at first she seeme and wielde,  
 These toyes in tyme will make her yelde. [18]

Looke what she likes; that you must loue,  
 And what she hates, you must detest,  
 Where good or bad, you must approue,  
 The wordes and workes that please her best:  
 If she be godly, you must sweare,  
 That to offend you stand in feare. [24]

Wicked wiles  
to deceaue  
wiles wo-  
men.

You must commend her louing face,  
For women ioy in beauties praise,  
You must admire her sober grace,  
Her wisdom and her vertuous wayes,  
Say, 'twas her wit & modest shoe,  
That made you like and loue her so.

[30]

You must be secret, constant, free,  
Your silent sighes and trickling teares,  
Let her in secret often see,  
Then wring her hand, as one that feares  
To speake, then with she were your wife,  
And last desire her saue your life.

[36]

When she doth laugh, you must be glad,  
And watch occasions, tyme and place,  
When she doth frowne, you must be sad,  
Let sighes & sobbes request her grace :  
Sweare that your loue is truly ment,  
So she in tyme must needs relent.

[42]

## EPICEDIUM.

A funerall Song, upon the vertuous life and godly death of the right worshipfull the Lady Helen Branch.

Virtus sola manet, cætera cunctu ruunt.

London, printed by Thomas Creede, 1594.

(From Sir Egerton Brydges' *Restituta* (1815), vol. iii. pp. 297—299. "The '*Epicedium*' . . . is signed W. HAR. which may possibly be an adumbration for Sir William Harbert, a poet of fair repute." *ib.* p. 298.)

(First verse.)

You that to shew your wits, haue taken toyle  
 In regist'ring the deeds of noble men ;  
 And sought for matter in a forraine soyle,  
 As worthie subjects of your silver pen,  
 Whom you have rais'd from darke oblivion's den. [5]  
 You that have writ of chaste Lucretia,<sup>1</sup>  
 Whose death was witnesse of her spotlesse life :  
 Or pen'd the praise of sad Cornelia,  
 Whose blamelesse name hath made her fame so rife,  
 As noble Pompey's most renoumed wife :  
 Hither unto your home direct your eies,  
 Whereas, unthought on, much more matter lies. [10]

<sup>1</sup> Mr Malone, in his list of the most authentic editions of Shakspeare's poems, registers the publication of his *Tarquin and Lucrece*, in 1594. An allusion complimentary may therefore have been made to it in this passage. (Brydges.)

From

'The Legend of Matilda the chafte, daughter to the  
Lord Robert Fitzwater, poysoned by King John.'<sup>1</sup>

By Michaell Drayton. 1594.

Lucrece, of whom proude Rome hath boasted long  
Lately reuiu'd to liue another age,  
And here ariv'd to tell of *Tarquins* wrong,  
Her chafte deniall, and the Tyrants rage,  
Acting her passions on our stately stage.  
She is remembred, all forgetting me,  
Yet I, as fayre and chafte as ere was She.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in a small volume of Drayton's "Legends," of which the first is "The Tragical Legend of Robert, Duke of Normandy."

## P O L I M A N T E I A,

OR,

*The meanes lawfull and vnlawfull, to*

IUDGE OF THE FALL OF A

COMMONWEALTH, AGAINST

the friuolous and foolish conie-

*ctures of this age.*

Whereunto is added,

*A Letter from England to her three daughters,**Cambridge, Oxford, Innes of Court, and to all the*

rest of her inhabitants: perswading them to a

constant vnitie of what religion soever they

*are, for the defence of our dread soveraigne,*

and natiue cuntry: most requisite for

this time wherein wee

now live.

*Inuide, quod nequeas imitari carpere noli:**Nil nisi cum sumptu mentem oculosque iuvat.**Printed by John Legate, Printer to the Vniuersitie  
of Cambridge. 1595.*And are to be sold at the signe of the Sunne in Pauls  
Church-yard in London.

"England to her three Daughters" says,—

[*Sign. R 2 to R. 3.*]

*Schollers  
must learne  
patience,*

*M. Alabla-  
ster.  
Spenser and  
others.*

*Lylia clou-  
ded, whose  
teares are  
making.*

*All praise  
worthy.  
Lucrecia  
Sweet  
Shak-  
speare.  
Eloquent  
Gaueston.  
Wanton  
Adonis.  
Watson's  
heyre.  
So well gra-  
ced Antho-  
nie deser-  
ueth immor-  
tall praise  
from the hand  
of that di-  
uine Lady  
who like Co-  
rinna contem-  
ding with  
Pindarus  
was oft vi-  
ctorious.*

"Let your children (daughters) content themselves; leaue to repine at baser fortunes: let them be perswaded of this, that Fame shall be their seruant, Honour shall bee their subiect, Glory shalbe their crown, Eternitie their inheritance: (then indeard wit decking admired daughters) write and let the worlde know that heavens harmonie is no musicke, in respect of your sweete, & well arte-tuned strings: that *Italian Ariosto* did but shadowe the meanest part of thy muse, that *Tassos Godfrey* is not worthie to make compare with your truelie eternizing *Eliza's* stile: let France-admired *Bellaw*, and courtlike amarus *Rousard* confesse that there be of your children, that in these latter times haue farre surpassed them. Let diuine *Bartasse* eternally praise worthie for his weeks worke, say the best thinges were made first: Let other countries (sweet *Cambridge*) enuie, (yet admire) my *Virgil*, thy petrarch, diuine *Spenser*. And vnlesse I erre, (a thing easie in such simplicitie) deluded by dearlie beloued *Delia*, and fortunatelie fortunate *Cleopatra*; *Oxford* thou maist extoll thy courte-deare-verse happy *Daniell*, whose sweete refined muse, in contracted shape, were sufficient amongst men, to gain pardon of the sinne to *Rosemond*, pittie to distressed *Cleopatra*, and euerliuing praise to her louing *Delia*: Register your childrens petegree in Fames forehead, so may you fill volumes with *Chausers* praise, with *Lydgate*, the Scottish knight, & such like, whose vnrefined tongues farre shorte of the excellencie of this age, wrote simplie & purelie as the times weare."

John Weever's Epigram to Shakspeare (A.D. 1595)  
from the second edition of

# “ E P I G R A M M E S

in the oldest cut, and  
newest fashion.

*A*

*twise seuen houres (in so many  
weekes) studie*

No longer (like the fashion) not vn-  
like to continue.

*The first seuen.*

Iohn Weeuer.

*Sit voluiffe, Sat valuiffe.*



At London

Printed by *V. S.* for *Thomas Bushell*, and are to be  
sold at his shop at the great north doore  
of *Paules* 1599”



## THE FOURTH WEEKE.

*Epig. 22. Ad Gulielmum Shakespeare.*

Honie-tong'd *Shakespeare*, when I saw thine issue,  
 I swore *Apollo* got them and none other,  
 Their rose-tainted features cloth'd in tiffue,  
 Some heaven born goddesse said to be their mother : [4]  
 Rose-checkt *Adonis* with his amber tresses,  
 Faire fire-hot *Venus* charming him to loue her,  
 Chaste *Lucretia* virgine-like her dresses,  
 Prowd lust-stung *Tarquine* seeking still to proue her : [8]  
*Romea Richard*; more, whose names I know not,  
 Their sugred tongues, and power attractiue beuty  
 Say they are Saints, although that Sts they shew not,  
 For thousands vowes to them subiectiue dutie : [12]  
 They burn in loue thy childrē *Shakespear* het thē,  
 Go, wo thy Muse more Nymphish brood beget them.



[Sign. E 6.]

## F. DOUCE'S MS. NOTE.

Weever says he was scarcely 20 years old when he wrote these epigrams : but, according to the date of the print of him by Cecill, he was 23 when they were printed in 1599. [&c. &c.]

[The first edition appeared in 1595 ? which would make him about 20.]  
 (2 lines on leaf 'Sign. A 5,'

As daigne to view my tender-blushing youth  
 That twenty twelue months yet did neuer know.)



From "The Excellencie of the English tongue by R. C. [i. e. Richard Carew] of Anthony Esquire to W. C." written about 1595-6, and inserted by W. Camden after his chapter on "Languages," in "Remaines concerning Britaine," p. 43. *London, by John Legatt, 1614.* [40. C. 57. Art. Seld: *Press-mark.*] (*Not in the first edition, 1605.*)

"The long words that we borrow being intermingled with the short of our owne store, make vp a perfect harmonie, by culling from out which mixture (with iudgement) you may frame your speech according to the matter you must worke on, maiesticall, pleasant, delicate, or manly more or lesse, in what sort you please. Adde hereunto, that whatsoeuer grace any other language carrieth in verse or Prose, in Tropes or Metaphors, in Ecchoes and Agnominations, they may all bee liuely and exactly represented in ours: will you haue Platoes veine? reade Sir Thomas Smith, the *Ionicke*? Sir Thomas Moore. Ciceroes? Ascham, Varro? Chaucer, Demosthenes? Sir Iohn Cheeke (who in his treatise to the Rebels, hath comprised all the figures of Rhetorick. Will you reade Virgill? take the Earle of Surrey. Catullus? Shakespheare and Barlowes fragment, Ouid? Daniell, Lucan? Spencer, Martial? Sir Iohn Dauies and others: will you haue all in all for Prose and verse? take the miracle of our age, Sir Philip Sidney."

## From

*Alba.* / The Months / Minde of a Me-/lancholy Lover,,/ diuided  
 into three / parts: / By R. T. *Gentleman.* / Herevnto is added a /  
 most excellent pathetical and passionate Let-/ter, sent by Duke  
*D'Epernoun*, vnto the late / French King, *Henry* the 3. of that  
 name,/ when he was commanded from the / Court, and from his  
 Royall / Companie. Translated / into English by the / foresaid  
*Au-/thor.* / *Spes, Amor, & Fortuna valet.* / At London./ Printed  
 by *Felix Kyngston*, for *Matthew / Lownes.* 1598./ 8°, A—I in eights,  
 and a leaf of K.

LOVES LABOR LOST, I once did see a Play,  
 Ycleped so, so called to my paine,  
 Which I to heare to my small Ioy did stay,  
 Giuing attendance on my froward Dame,  
 My misgiuing minde presaging to me ill,  
 Yet was I drawne to see it gainst my Will. [6]

This *Play* no *Play*, but Plague was vnto me,  
 For there I lost the Loue I liked most :  
 And what to others seemde a Iest to be,  
 I, that (in earnest) found vnto my cost.  
 To euery one (saue me) 'twas *Comickall*,  
 Whilst *Tragick* like to me it did befall. [12]

Each Actor plaid in cunning wise his part,  
 But chiefly Those entrapt in *Cupids* snare :  
 Yet All was fained, twas not from the hart,  
 They seemde to grieue, but yet they felt no care :  
 T'was I that Griefe (indeed) did beare in brest,  
 The others did but make a show in Iest. [18]

Yet neither faining theirs, nor my meere Truth,  
 Could make her once so much as for to smile:  
 Whilst she (despite of pitie milde and ruth)  
 Did sit as skorning of my Woes the while.

Thus did she sit to see LOVE lose his LOVE,  
 Like hardned Rock that force nor power can moue. [24]  
 Sign. G (5).

[The Society has to thank Mr W. Carew Hazlitt for this copy,  
 and the collation of it; and Mr Henry Huth for allowing his most  
 rare volume to be used for the purpose.]

## A REMEMBRANCE OF SOME ENGLISH POETS.

From "Poems in Diuers humors." London, 1598. Sign. E. 2 back.  
 [Being the fourth tract in a volume of which the first bears Richard Barnfeild's name: signatures running on throughout.]

Liue *Spenser* euer, in thy *Fairy Queene* :  
 Whose like (for deepe Conceit) was neuer seene.  
 Crownd mayst thou bee, vnto thy more renowne,  
 (As King of Poets) with a Lawrell Crowne. [4]

And *Daniell*, praised for thy sweet-chast Verse :  
 Whose Fame is grav'd on *Rosamonds* blacke Herse.  
 Still mayst thou liue : and still be honored,  
 For that rare Worke, *The White Rose and the Red*. [8]

And *Drayton*, whose wel-written Tragedies,  
 And sweete Epistles, soare thy fame to skies.  
 Thy learned Name, is æquall with the rest ;  
 Whose stately Numbers are so well addrest. [12]

And *Shakespeare* thou, whose hony-flowing Vaine,  
 (Pleasing the World) thy Praises doth obtaine.  
 Whose *Venus*, and whose *Lucrece* (sweete, and chaste)  
 Thy Name in fames immortall Booke haue plac't. [16]  
 Liue euer you, at least in Fame liue euer :  
 Well may the Bodye dye, but Fame dies neuer.

## JOHN MARSTON'S SCOVRGE OF VILLANIE :

[Press-mark :—Malone 414.]

16mo, Lond., by I[ames] R[oberts], 1598. (Anon.)

## SATYRE. X.

[Sign. H 3, back]

*Humours.*

. . . . .  
A hall, a hall,

Roome for the Spheres, the Orbes celestially  
Will daunce *Kemps ligge*. They'le reuel with neate iumps  
A worthy Poet hath put on their Pumps?  
O wits quick trauers, but *sance ceo's* slow,  
Good faith tis hard for nimble *Curio*.  
Yee gracious Orbs, keepe the old measuring, [7]  
All's spoyld if once yee fall to capering.

*Luscus* what's playd to day? faith now I know [9]  
I set thy lips abroad, from whence doth flow  
Naught but pure *Iuliat* and *Romio*. [11]  
Say, who acts best? *Drusus*, or *Roscio*?  
Now I haue him, that nere of ought did speake  
But when of playes or Plaiers he did treat.  
H'ath made a common-place booke out of plaies, [15]  
And speakes in print, at least what ere he sayes  
Is warranted by Curtaine *plaudeties*, [17]  
If ere you heard him courting *Lesbias* eyes;  
Say (Curteous Sir) speakes he not mouingly  
From out some new pathetique Tragedie?  
He writes, he railes, he iests, he courts, what not,  
And all from out his huge long scraped stock  
Of well penn'd playes. [see p. 188.]

VARIATIONS IN THE 1599 EDITION OF MARSTON.

[Bodleian Press-mark :—8° L 550. B.S.]

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 7. Yee gracious Orbs, &c., and the next line, 8, are in Italic type. |   |
| 7. Orbs <i>for</i> Orbs.   | 11. <i>Romeo</i> for <i>Romio</i> .           |
| 9. fayth <i>for</i> faith.   | 15. playes <i>for</i> plaies.                 |
| 11. <i>Iuliet</i> for <i>Iuliat</i> .                                | 17. <i>plaudities</i> for <i>plaudeties</i> . |

John Marston's "Scovrge of Villanie; *London, by I. R.* 1598."

SATYRE. VII.

*A Cynicke Satyre.*

[Press-mark :—Malone 414.]

**A** *Man, a man, a kingdome for a man.*  
 Why how now currish mad *Athenian*?  
 Thou Cynick dogge, see'st not streets do swarme  
 With troupes of men? No, no, for *Circes* charme  
 Hath turn'd them all to <sup>1</sup>swine;

Is this a *Man*? Nay, an incarnate deuill,  
 That struts in vice, and glorieth in euill.

*A man, a man*: peace Cynick, yon is one,  
 A compleat soule, of all perfection.

*A man, a man*, Loe yonder I espie  
 The shade of *Nestor* in sad grauitie;

*A man, a man*: peace Cynick, yon's a man.  
 Behold yon sprightly dread *Mauortian*.  
 With him I stop thy currish barking chops.

<sup>1</sup> Big S in the 2nd ed., 1599. The two editions agree in nearly every other respect.

# NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY.

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## LIST OF PAPERS

TO BE READ AT THE NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY'S MEETINGS, AT  
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, GOWER ST., W.C., FROM OCTOBER, 1874,  
TO JUNE, 1875, AT 8 P.M.

October 9. The Politics of Shakspeare's Historical Plays ; by  
RICHARD SIMPSON, Esq., B.A.

November 13. The 'weak endings' of Shakspeare, in relation  
to the Chronology of his Plays ; by Professor J. K.  
INGRAM, LL.D., Trin. Coll., Dublin.

December 11. A Discussion on the Play of *Cymbeline* ; to be  
opened by J. W. HALES, Esq., M.A., or F. J. FURNIVALL,  
Esq., M.A.

January 8. On the first two Quartos of *Hamlet*, 1603, 1604 ;  
by the Rev. E. A. ABBOTT, D.D. (*This paper is not  
intended for printing.*)

February 12. On the Quibbles in Shakspeare's Plays ; by  
Mrs F. C. N. HALL.

March 12. On the Date of *King John* ; by BRINSLEY NICHOLSON,  
Esq., M.D.

April 9. A Paper by Professor LEO, Ph.D., of Berlin.

May 14. A Scratch Night : short Papers or Remarks on any  
Shakspeare Topics, by any Members of the Society who  
will send or speak what they have to say.

June 11. On the Originals of Shakspeare's Plots ; by HENRY  
B. WHEATLEY, Esq.

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Offers of other Papers and of Scraps are desired, and should  
be made to Mr FURNIVALL, 3, St George's Square, Primrose  
Hill, London, N.W. The Committee can appoint the 4th





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"Societie (saith the text) is the happinesse of life."—*Love's Labour's lost*, iv. 2.

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[It is hoped that one of our chief living Poets will take the post.]

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## LIST OF PAPERS

TO BE READ AT THE NEW SHAKSPEARE SOCIETY'S MEETINGS, AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, GOWER ST., W.C., FROM MARCH TO JULY, 1874, AT 8 P.M.

Friday, March 13. On the Application of Metrical Tests to determine the Authorship and Chronological Succession of Dramatic Writings. Part I: SHAKSPEARE; by the Rev. F. G. Fleay, M.A., Trin. Coll., Cambridge.

Friday, March 27. On the Application of Metrical Tests to determine the Authorship and Chronological Succession of Dramatic Writings. Part II: Fletcher, Beaumont, Massinger. By the Rev. F. G. Fleay, M.A.

Friday, April 24. On the Authorship of the *Taming of the Shrew*, with Remarks on *Titus Andronicus*, by the Rev. F. G. Fleay, M.A.

Friday, May 8. On the Authorship of *Timon of Athens* and *Pericles*; by the Rev. F. G. Fleay, M.A.; with the Texts of Shakspeare's Portions of these Plays, edited from the earliest originals, by Mr Fleay.

Friday, May 22. On the Porter in *Macbeth*, by J. W. Hales, Esq., M.A., Christ's Coll., Cambridge.

Friday, June 12. On certain Plays of SHAKSPEARE, of which Portions were written at different Periods of his Life: 1. *Richard II.*; 2. *All's Well that ends Well*; 3. *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and *Twelfth Night*; 4. *Troilus and Cressida*: by the Rev. F. G. Fleay, M.A.

Friday, June 26. On Two Plays of Shakspeare's the Versions of which as we have them are the Results of Alterations by other Hands: 1. *Macbeth*; 2. *Julius Caesar*: by the Rev. F. G. Fleay, M.A.

Friday, July 10. On the Political Use of the Stage in Shakspeare's Time, by Richard Simpson, Esq., B.A.

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Papers for next Session have been promised by Prof. Leo of Berlin, Dr Abbott, Dr Brinsley Nicholson, Mr Tom Taylor, Mr Hales, Mr Fleay, and Mr Simpson. Offers of other Papers are desired, and should be made to the Director or any other Member of the Committee.

The following Publications of the *New Shakspeare Society* are now at Press :

- Series I. *Transactions* :** The New Shakspeare Society's Transactions, Part I, containing the first four above-named Papers by the Rev. F. G. Fleay, M.A., and a Table of the Quarto Editions of Shakspeare's Works, 1593-1630 ; with an Appendix containing, 1. Mr James Spedding's Paper on the several shares of SHAKSPEARE and FLETCHER in *Henry VIII*, with the late Mr S. Hickson's and Mr Fleay's independent confirmations of Mr Spedding's results. 2. The late Mr S. Hickson's Paper on the several shares of SHAKSPEARE and FLETCHER (when young) in the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, with Mr Fleay's Note, and Table of Metrical Tests, confirming Mr Hickson's results. Part II. The rest of the above-named Papers by Mr Hales, Mr Fleay, and Mr Simpson.
- Series II. *Plays*.** The First two Quartos of *Romeo and Juliet*, 1597 and 1599, in *a*. simple Reprints ; *b*. Parallel Texts, arranged so as to show their Differences, and with Collations of all the Quartos and Folio ; *c*. a revised Edition of the Quarto Text of 1599, collated with the other Quartos and the Folio ; the whole edited by P. A. Daniel, Esq., with an Introduction on the First Quarto, and the Metre of the Play, by the Rev. F. G. Fleay, M.A.
- Series III. *Originals and Analogues*.** Part I. *a*. The Tragical Historie of Romeus and Juliet, written first in Italian by Bandell,<sup>1</sup> and nowe in English by Ar[thur] Br[ooke], 1562 ; edited by P. A. Daniel, Esq. *b*. The goodly hystory of the true and constant loue between Rhomeo and Julietta ; from Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, 1567 ; edited by P. A. Daniel, Esq.
- Series IV. *Shakspeare Allusion-Books*.** Part I. *a*. Greenes Groatesworth of Wit [written in 1592], 1596 ; *b*. Henry Chettle's 'Kind-Harts Dreame' [written in 1593] ; *c*. 'Englandes Mourning Garment' [1603] ; *d*. A Mourneful Dittie, entituled Elizabeths Losse, together with A Welcome for King James [1603] ; *e*. extracts from 'Willobie his Avisa. Or the true Picture of a Modest Maid, and of a Chast and constant wife,' 1594 ; *f*. extracts from Marston, Carew, &c. ; *g*. Gabriel Harvey's Third Letter, from his 'Foure Letters and certaine Sonnets,' 1592 ; *h*. five sections,—Poetrie ; Poets ; Comparative Discourse of our English Poets, with the Greeke, Latine, and Italian Poets ; Painters ; Musique ;—from Francis Meres's *Palladis Tamia*, 1598 ; edited by C. Mansfield Ingleby, Esq., LL.D.

**Series II.** The following works have been suggested by Mr Fleay for publication (see *The Academy*, Feb. 14, 1874, p. 200) :

1. Parallel Texts of the imperfect sketches of *b*. Hamlet, and its Quarto 2 (with the Folio and a revised Text, edited by the Rev. F. G. Fleay, M.A.) ; *c*. Merry Wives of Windsor, and Folio 1 ; *d*. The Contention, and Henry VI, Part 2, in F 1 ; The True Tragedy, and Henry VI, Part 3, in F 1 ; Henry V, and F 1. (These are needed to give a basis to determine Shakspeare's manner of work, if the early sketches are from his hand (as the first, if not the first two, are believed to be) ; and if not, to give opportunity for such

<sup>1</sup> The original Italian story by Luigi da Porto, 1580, with a Translation, &c., by Prof. Quarto of *Much Adoe*, 1600, for 1s., and G. Face-Sanfelice, can be had at Glaisher's, 265, High-Holborn, for 1s. ; the facsimile Booth's reprint of the Folio for 12s. 6d.

close comparison of the two versions as may settle the spuriousness or genuineness of the sketch-plays.)

2. Parallel Texts of the following Quarto Plays and their versions in the First Folio, with collations : Richard III, Q 1 ; 2 Henry IV, Q 1 ; Troilus and Cressida, Q 1 ; Lear, Q 1 : to show the relations of the Folio text to that of the previous editions. Of Othello, four Texts, Q 1, Q 2, F 1, and a revised Text, edited by the Rev. F. G. Fleay, M.A.
3. Parallel Texts of the two earliest Quartos of *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *Merchant of Venice* ; to show which edition is the better basis for a revised text.
4. The First Quartos of *Much Ado about Nothing* ; *Loues Labour's Lost* ; Richard II ; 1 Henry IV ; from which the copies in the Folio were printed.

Reprints in Quarto of the remaining Folio Plays, with collations.

When possible, the passages which Shakspeare used from North's Plutarch, Holinshed's and Halle's Chronicles, &c., will be printed opposite the texts of his Roman and Historical Plays. Also the plots of the old plays of 'The Taming of a Shrew,' 'Promos and Cassandra,' 'The troublesome raigne of King John,' &c., will be printed parallel with the plots of Shakspeare's Plays that were founded on them. In all Reprints of Quarto and Folio editions of Shakspeare's Plays, the numbers of act, scene, and line, will be given in the margin, so as to make the books handy to work with.

**Series V.** *The Contemporary Drama.* Works suggested by Mr Richard Simpson (see *The Academy*, Jan. 31, 1874, p. 120-1) :—

- a. The Works of Robert Greene, Thomas Nash (with a selection from Gabriel Harvey's), Thomas Lodge, and Henry Chettle.
- b. The Arraignment of Paris (Peele's) ; Arden of Feversham ; George-a-Greene ; Locrine ; King Edward III (of which Act ii. is by a different hand, and that, almost certainly Shakspeare's) ; Mucedorus ; Sir John Oldcastle ; Thomas Lord Cromwell ; The Merry Devil of Edmonton ; The London Prodigal ; The Puritan ; A Yorkshire Tragedy ; Faire Em ; The Birth of Merlin ; The Siege of Antwerp ; The Life and Death of Thomas Stucley ; A Warning to Fair Women. (Perhaps, 'The Prodigal Son,' and 'Hester and Ahasuerus,' extant in German translations.)
- c. The Martinist and Anti-Martinist Plays of 1589-91 ; and the Plays relating to the quarrel between Dekker and Jonson in 1600.
- d. Lists of all the Companies of Actors in SHAKSPEARE'S time, their Directors, Players, Plays, and Poets.
- e. Dr Wm. Gager's *Meleager*, a tragedy, printed Oct. 1592 (with the correspondence relating to it between Dr Gager of Christ Church, and Dr John Reynolds of Corpus (Univ. Coll. Oxf. MS. J. 18 ; and at Corpus). Also, Reynolds's rejoinder in 1593, 'The Overthrow of Stage Plays,' &c., with the letters between him and Gentilis. Also, Gentilis's 'Disputatio de Actoribus et Spectatoribus Fabularum non notanda.' Hannov. 1659. And 'Fucus sive Histriomastix' (a play against Reynolds), Lambeth MS. 398.

f. Robert Chester's *Love's Martyr*—from which Shakspeare's lines to the 'Phoenix and Turtle' were taken—with an Introduction showing who Salisbury was, to whom the Chorus Vatum dedicates the book ; and showing the relation between Chester's poem and Shakspeare's *Cymbeline*.

g. *Richard II*, and the other Plays in Egerton MS. 1994 (suggested by Mr J. O. Halliwell).

Series VI. *Shakspeare's England*. William Harrison's *Description of England*, 1577, 1587, edited from its two versions by Fredk. J. Furnivall, Esq., M.A.

Series VII. *Mysteries, &c. Ancient Mysteries, with a Morality*, from the Digby MS. 133, re-edited from the unique MS. by the Rev. W. W. Skeat, M.A. ; *The Towneley Mysteries*, re-edited from the unique MS. by the Rev. Richard Morris, LL.D.

Series VIII. *Miscellaneous*. Autotypes of the parts of the Play of *Sir Thomas More* that may possibly be in young SHAKSPERE's handwriting, from the Harleian MS. 7368. Thomas Rymer's 'Tragedies of the last Age considered and examined', 1673, 1692 ; and his 'A short View of Tragedy of the last Age', 1693.

# THE NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY.

(THE FOUNDER'S PROSPECTUS REVISED.)

To do honour to SHAKSPERE<sup>1</sup>, to make out the succession of his plays, and thereby the growth of his mind and art; to promote the intelligent study of him, and to print Texts illustrating his works and his times, this *New Shakspeare Society* is founded.

It is a disgrace to England that while Germany can boast of a Shakspeare Society which has gathered into itself all its country's choicest scholars, England is now without such a Society. It is a disgrace, again, to England that even now, 258 years after SHAKSPERE's death, the study of him has been so narrow, and the criticism, however good, so devoted to the mere text and its illustration, and to studies of single plays, that no book by an Englishman exists which deals in any worthy manner with SHAKSPERE as a whole, which tracks the rise and growth of his genius from the boyish romanticism or the sharp young-manishness of his early plays, to the magnificence, the splendour, the divine intuition, which mark his ablest works. The profound and generous "Commentaries" of Gervinus<sup>2</sup>—an honour to a German to have written, a pleasure to an Englishman to read—is still the only book known to me that comes near the true treatment and the dignity of its subject, or can be put into the hands of the student who wants to know the mind of SHAKSPERE. I am convinced that the unsatisfactory result of the long and painful study of SHAKSPERE by so many English scholars—several men of great power and acuteness—arises mainly from a neglect of the only sound method of beginning that study, the chronological one.<sup>3</sup> Unless a man's works are studied in the order in

<sup>1</sup> This spelling of our great Poet's name is taken from the only unquestionably genuine signatures of his that we possess, the three on his will, and the two on his Stratford conveyance and mortgage. None of these signatures have an *e* after the *k*; four have no *a* after the first *e*; the fifth I read *-eare*. The *e* and *a* had their French sounds, which explain the forms 'Shaxper', &c. Though it has hitherto been too much to ask people to suppose that SHAKSPERE know how to spell his own name, I hope the demand may not prove too great for the imagination of the Members of the New Society.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Bunnett's translation is published by Smith and Elder, 24s. A cheap edition will be out soon. Mr H. N. Hudson's 'Shakespeare: his Life, Art, and Character' (Sampson Low and Co.), with comments on twenty-five of his best Plays, is the best original commentary of its kind in English that I know. It is of course much indebted to German criticism. Mrs Jamieson's *Characteristics of Women* (5s., Routledge) has some most subtle and beautiful studies of Shakspeare's chief woman-creations.

<sup>3</sup> The ordinary editions put the Plays higgledy-piggledy; often, like the Folio, beginning with Shakspeare's almost-last play, the *Tempest*, and then putting his

which he wrote them, you *cannot* get at a right understanding of his mind, you cannot follow the growth of it. This has been specially brought home to me by my work at Chaucer. Until I saw that his *Pity* was his first original work, the key of his life was undiscovered; but that found, it at once opened his treasure-chest, the rest of the jewels he has left us were at once disclosed in their right array, the early pathetic time of his life made clear, its contrast with the later humorous one shown, and, for the first time these 470 years, the dear old man stood out as he was known in Wycliffe's time. Something of this kind must take place in the mind of every one who will carefully and reverently follow SHAKSPEARE's steps on his way up to the throne of Literature, where he, our English poet, sits, the glory not of our land alone, but of the world.

Dramatic poet though SHAKSPEARE is, bound to lose himself in his wondrous and manifold creations; taciturn "as the secrets of Nature" though he be; yet in this Victorian time, when our geniuses of Science are so wresting her secrets from Nature as to make our days memorable for ever, the faithful student of SHAKSPEARE need not fear that he will be unable to pierce through the crowds of forms that exhibit SHAKSPEARE's mind, to the mind itself, the man himself, and see him as he was; while in the effort, in the enjoyment of his new gain, the worker will find his own great reward.

Fortunately for us, SHAKSPEARE has himself left us the most satisfactory—because undesigned—evidence of the growth in the mechanism of his art, in the gradual changes in his versification during his life, changes that must strike every intelligent reader, and which I cannot at all understand the past neglect of. To cite only one such change, that from the sparing use of the unstopt line to the frequent use of it<sup>1</sup>:

(probably) third, the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, next it. No wonder readers are all in a maze. Further, though I can put my finger on Chaucer's "nyghtyngale that clepeth forth the freshe leves newe," and say 'Here is first the real Chaucer,' yet I (though past 49) cannot yet do the like for Shakspeare. (Is it "*the nimble spirits in the arteries*," note 1, below (perhaps an insertion in the amended edition of 1597), or in *The Comedie of Errors*, iii. 2,

Sing, Siren, for thy selfe, and I will dote;  
Spread ore the siluer waues thy golden haïres,  
And as a b[e]ld Ile take the[m], and there lie:)

How many of the readers of this can? Yet oughtn't we all to have been able to do it from the time we were 18, or twenty-one?

<sup>1</sup> Here are two extreme instances. The early one has a stop at the end of every one of its first 16 lines. The late one has only 4 end-stopt lines.

(Early) *Loves Labour's lost*, iv. 3 (p. 135, col. 1, Booth's reprint)

Ben. O 'tis more then neede.  
Hauo at you then, affections men at armes;  
Consider what you first did sweare vnto:  
To fast, to study, and to see no woman:  
Flat reason against the kinde sense of youth.  
Say, Can you fast? your stomacks are too young:  
And abstinence ingenders maladies  
And where that you haue vow'd to studie (Lords),  
In that each of you haue forsworne his Booke  
Can you still dreame and pore, and thereon looke?  
For when would you, my Lord, or you, or you,  
Haue found the ground of studies excellence,  
Without the beauty of a womans face?  
From womans eyes this doctrine I deriue:  
They are the Ground, the Bookes, the Achadems,  
From whence doth spring the true *Promethean* fire.  
Why, vniuersall plodding poysons vp } probably  
The nimble spirits in the arteries. } added  
As motion and long during action tyres } in 1597  
The sinnowy vigour of the traueller.

(Late) *The Tragedie of Cymbeline*, iv. 2 (p. 388, col. 2, Booth's reprint)

Bel. No single soule  
Can we set eye on: but in all safe reason  
He must haue some Attendants. Though his  
Humour  
'Was nothing but mutation, I, and that  
From one bad thing to worse: Not Frenzie, Not  
absolute madness could so far haue rau'd  
To bring him heere alone, although perhaps  
It may be heard at Court, that such as wee  
Caue heere, hunt heere, are Owt-lawes, and in time  
May make some stronger head, the which he  
hearing  
(As it is like him) might breake out, and sweare  
Hee'd fetch vs in: yet is't not probable  
To come alone, either he so vndertaking,  
Or they so suffering: then on good ground wee feare,  
If we do feare this Body hath a taile  
More perillous then the head.

—a test which, when applied to three of SHAKSPEARE'S unripest, and three of his ripest (though not best) plays, gives the following result,—

Earliest Plays.	Proportion of unstopt lines to stopt ones.	Latest Plays.	Proportion of unstopt lines to stopt ones.
Loues Labour's Lost	1 in 18.14	The Tempest	1 in 3.02
The Comedy of Errours	1 in 10.7	Cymbeline King of Britaine	1 in 2.52
The two Gent. of Verona	1 in 10.	The Winter's Tale	1 in 2.12 <sup>1</sup>

surely shows its exceeding value at a glance, though of course it alone is not conclusive. Working with this and other mechanical tests—such as Mr F. G. Fleay's, of the use of rymes, Alexandrines, double endings (or redundant final syllables), and Latin—we can, without much trouble, get our great Poet's Plays into an order to which we can then apply the higher tests<sup>2</sup> of conception, characterization, knowledge of life, music of line, dramatic development, and imagination, and see in how far the results of these tests coincide with, or differ from, those of the former ones; whether the conscious growth of power agrees or not with the unconscious change of verse.<sup>3</sup>

Having settled this, we can then mark out the great Periods of SHAKSPEARE'S work—whether with Gervinus and Delius we make Three, or, guided by the verse-test, with Bathurst (whom I follow), we make Four, and define the Characteristics of each Period.<sup>4</sup> We could then put forth a Student's Handbook to SHAKSPEARE, and help learners to know him. This done, we can then lay hand on SHAKSPEARE'S text, though here, probably, there will not be much to do, thanks to the labours of the many distinguisht scholars who have so long and so faithfully workt at it. Still, as students, we should follow their method. First, discuss the documents: print in parallel columns the Quarto and Folio copies of such plays as have both,<sup>5</sup> and determine whether any Quarto of each Play, or the Folio, should be the basis of

<sup>1</sup> The proportion in *The Life of King Henry the Eighth* is 1 in 2.75; but in this play there are clear traces of another hand—Fletcher's, Mr Tennyson tells me. (See Mr Spedding's able paper in *Gents. Mag.*, August, 1850, and the most striking confirmations of his results by Mr Hickson, in *I Notes and Queries*, ii. 198, and Mr Fleay; all printed in the Appendix to Part 1 of the *New Shakspeare Society's Transactions*, 1874.) The last long speech of Crammer looks as if it was written first in Elizabeth's time,—Mr Hales suggests, at the time of her dying sickness in March 1603—then pulled in two, and a complimentary bit on King James I. inserted in the middle. Mr Spedding, however, always held, and Mr Fleay's and my tests show, that it was not;<sup>2</sup> but that the whole Play was late.

<sup>2</sup> Mr J. W. Hales's 7 Tests are, 1. External Evidence (dates of printing); 2. Internal (from allusions in the Plays, &c.); 3. Metre; 4. Language and Style (3 and 4 comprised under Form); 5. Power of Characterization; 6. Dramatic Unity; 7. Knowledge of Life. (See *The Academy*, Jan. 17, 1874, p. 63; Jan. 31, p. 117.)

<sup>3</sup> The Sonnets and Minor Poems would be discussd in their chronological order with the Plays.

<sup>4</sup> The doubtful Plays like *Hen. VI.*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Pericles* (of which Mr Tennyson has convinced me that Shakspeare wrote at least the parts in which Pericles finds his daughter and wife), *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (see *West. Rev.*, April, 1847, and the second Paper in the Appendix to the *New Shakspeare Society's Transactions*, 1874, Part 1), &c., could be discussd here. The Plays just mentioned will be editd for the Society. Mr Fleay agrees that there must be 4 (or 5), and not only 3 Periods of Shakspeare's works.

<sup>5</sup> The Second and Third Parts of *Henry VI.* would be set beside 'The first part of the contention' and 'the true tragedy'; 'The Merry Wives' by its first sketch, &c.



its text,<sup>1</sup> with special reference to *Richard III.* Secondly, discuss all the best conjectural readings, seeking for contemporary confirmations of them ; and perhaps drawing up a Black List of the thousands of stupid or ingeniously fallacious absurdities that so-called emenders have devised. Thirdly, led by Mr Alexander J. Ellis, discuss the pronunciation of SHAKSPEARE and his period, and the spelling that ought to be adopted in a scholars'-edition of his Plays, whether that of the Quartos or Folio,<sup>1</sup> or any of SHAKSPEARE'S contemporaries. It is surely time that the patent absurdity should cease, of printing 16th- and 17th-century plays, for English scholars, in 19th-century spelling. Assuredly the Folio spelling must be nearer SHAKSPEARE'S than that ; and nothing perpetuates the absurdity (I imagine) but publishers' thinking the old spelling would make the book sell less. Lastly, we could (unless we then found it needless) nominate a Committee of three, two, or one, to edit SHAKSPEARE'S *Works*, with or without a second to write his *Life*.

The above, the main, work of the Society, will be done as in ordinary Literary and Scientific Societies, by Meetings, Papers, and Discussions ; the Papers being shorter, and the Discussions much fuller, than in other bodies. The Society's first Meeting will be held on Friday, March 13, at 8 P.M., at University College, Gower Street, London, W.C., as the Committee of the Council of the College have been good enough to grant the use of the College rooms to the *New Shakspeare Society* at a nominal charge, to cover the cost of gas and firing. Offers of Papers to be read at the Society's Meetings are wisht for, and should be made to the Director. The Papers read will be issued as the Society's *Transactions*, and will form *Series 1* of the Society's Publications.

The second part of the *New Shakspeare Society's* work will be the publication of—2. A Series of SHAKSPEARE'S Plays, beginning with the best or most instructive Quartos, both singly, and in parallel Texts with other sketch-Quartos or the Folio, when the Play exists in both forms ; and when not, from the Folio only. This Series will include *a.* Reprints of the Quartos ; *b.* trial-editions of the whole of *Shakspeare's Plays* in the spelling of the Quarto or Folio that is taken as the basis of the Text. 3. A Series of the *Originals and Analogues of Shakspeare's Plays*, including extracts from North's Plutarch, Holinshed, and other works used by him ; 4. A short Series of *Shakspeare-Allusion Books*, contemporary tracts, ballads, and documents alluding to or mentioning SHAKSPEARE or his works ; 5. A Selection from the *Contemporary Drama*, from Garrick's Collection, &c. ; 6. *Works on Shakspeare's England*, such as Harrison's celebrated *Description of England*, W. Stafford's *Complaint*, &c. ; 7. A chronological Series of *English Mysteries, Miracle-Plays, Interludes, Masks, Comedies*, &c., up to Shakspeare's time ; 8. *Miscellanies*, including (at Mr Tennyson's suggestion) some facsimiles of Elizabethan and Jacobite handwritings, to show what letters would be most easily mistaken by printers ; and (at Mrs G. H. Lewes's suggestion) reprints of last-century criticisms on SHAKSPEARE, to show the curious variations in the history of opinion concerning him ; besides other occasional works.

The Society's *Transactions* will be in 8vo ; its *Texts* will be issued

<sup>1</sup> In the first Trial-editions of the Plays in Quarto for the Society, the spelling of the text adopted as the basis of the edition, whether Quarto or Folio, will be followed.

in a handsome quarto, the quarto for Members only; but as the Society's work is essentially one of popularisation, of stirring-up the intelligent study of SHAKSPERE among all classes in England and abroad, all such publications of the Society as the Committee think fit, will be printed without leads, in a cheap form, for general circulation.

The Presidency of the Society will be left vacant till one of our greatest living poets sees that his duty is to take it. A long list of Vice-Presidents is desired, men eminent in Literature, Art, Science, Statesmanship or rank, as well to do honour to SHAKSPERE, as to further the work of the Society on him. I hope for a thousand members—many from our Colonies, the United States, and Germany; so that the Society may be a fresh bond of union between the three great Teutonic nations of the world. I hope our *New Shakspeare Society* will last as long as SHAKSPERE is studied. I hope also that every Member of the Society will do his best to form Shakspeare Reading-parties, to read the Plays chronologically, and discuss each after its reading, in every set of people, Club or Institute, that he belongs to: there are few better ways of spending three hours of a winter evening indoors, or a summer afternoon on the grass. Branch Societies should also be formed to promote these Readings, and the general study of SHAKSPERE, in their respective localities. To such Societies proofs of the Papers to be read in London will be sent in advance, so that each Branch-Society can, if it pleases, read at each of its Meetings the same Paper that is read at the Parent Society on the same night.

The Society will be managed by a Committee of Workers, with power to add to their number. The first Director will be myself, the Founder of the Society. Its Treasurer will be William Payne, Esq., The Keep, Forest Hill, London, S.E.; its Honorary Secretary, Arthur G. Snelgrove, Esq., London Hospital, London, E.; its Bank, the Alliance Bank, Bartholomew Lane, London, E.C.; its printers, Messrs Childs, Bungay, Suffolk; and its publishers, Messrs Trübner and Co., 57 and 59, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

The subscription (which constitutes Membership, without election or payment of entrance-fee) is a Guinea a year, payable on every first of January to the *Honorary Secretary*, Arthur G. Snelgrove, Esq., London Hospital, London, E., by cheque, or Money Order payable at the Chief Office, E.C. The first year's subscription is now due.

United States Members who wish their books posted to them, must pay 3s. a year extra in advance, with their Subscription, to Mr Snelgrove, or to Prof. F. J. Child, Harvard College, Cambridge, Massachusetts, the Society's *Honorary Secretary* for the United States of America.

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL,

3, St George's Square, Primrose Hill, London, N.W.

28 March, 1874.

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